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EDITORIAL

FORMS OF WORSHIP, UNLESS PURELY TRADITIONAL, ARE THE LOGICAL EXPRESSION of the concepts of the church and the nature of Christian experience held by the worshiping group. Anabaptist worship reflects Anabaptist faith; hence Biblicism, simplicity, inwardness, ethical emphasis, brotherhood spirit, all find natural expression in it. Paul M. Miller rightly brings out these traits as he assembles, largely for the first time, the essential historical material in his brief survey of "Worship Among the Early Anabaptists."

THE SHARE OF EAST FRIESLAND IN THE EARLY ANABAPTIST MOVEMENT IS GREATER than it has often been assumed, as Cornelius Krahn's solidly based articles in this issue prove. One of the few areas in western Europe where a real measure of religious toleration existed, it became the place of refuge for hundreds fleeing from other parts, especially from the Low Countries, and sheltered an Anabaptist printing plant for some time. One of the most notable of all the Anabaptist-State Church disputations was held here in 1578 in the capital city of Emden. It is disappointing that later on the Mennonitism of this area seems to have more the character of an eastern outpost of Dutch Mennonitism than that of a vigorous movement in its own right, as the later decline shows.

THE NOTEWORTHY ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE HUTterite brotherhood in its first century have never been adequately reported. Robert Friedmann contributes in this issue the first survey of this essential aspect of Hutterite history, including the tragic end of the Hutterite economy with the expulsion of the Brethren from Moravia in 1622.

THE WELL-DOCUMENTED AND EXHAUSTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE FIFTEEN EXTINCT Amish communities in Pennsylvania which Maurice Mook has assembled is a valuable aid in understanding and assessing properly the history of the Amish, and also casts considerable light on their sociology. It is not inspiring to study failures, but good lessons can be learned from them. Professor Mook's paper is particularly valuable for its very comprehensive bibliographical annotation.

IN THIS ISSUE OF THE REVIEW SILAS HERTZLER PRESENTS HIS ANNUAL SUMMARY of attendance in Mennonite colleges, and Nelson P. Springer brings his cumulative index of the REVIEW up-to-date.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

WORSHIP AMONG THE EARLY ANABAPTISTS

PAUL M. MILLER*

The early Anabaptists[1] wrote no books on worship. Brutal persecution hunted and hounded their leaders for the first 100 years. When the death penalty ceased after almost a century, imprisonment, torture, confiscation of property, and denial of religious privileges such as the right to free assembly, to marry, to baptize, to bury, to teach and to preach, continued for 200 years more in Switzerland. Deportation, galley slavery, and exile were being used against them here as late as 1753.[2] A group of Christians which is forced to worship secretly in homes and cellars and behind hedgerows is not likely soon to perfect a liturgy.

Furthermore, the Anabaptists were not interested in reforming a liturgy. Heath says, "Anabaptism was no sectarian struggle but an effort to get the reign of justice and truth established upon earth. Anabaptists sought the regeneration of this world, not only in one sphere, but in all . . . . They expressed their desire to obey Christ by being baptized into His death, and by forming communities wherein His kingdom would be acknowledged, His laws obeyed, and a holy society formed."[3] Liturgy or sacraments were not central in the Anabaptist concept of the essence of the church. Whereas Luther

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1 This study will be limited to the main line of Anabaptists, the "Swiss Brethren" in Switzerland and South Germany and those identified with Menno Simons in the Netherlands and North Germany. This main group of Anabaptists is often called the "Biblical," or "peaceful," or "community-type" Anabaptists. No attention will be given in this paper to revolutionary groups such as Münster, a very little attention to the communist Hutterites in Moravia, and no attention at all to the small fringe groups.

2 John A. Hostetler, *The Sociology of Mennonite Evangelism* (Scottdale, Pa., 1954), 13.

3 Richard Heath, *Anabaptism: From its Rise at Zwickau to its Fall at Münster, 1521-1536* (London, 1895), 191.

thought that the church comes to expression where the Word and sacraments are duly observed, the Anabaptists asserted that the "true church is raised up" where "faith, Spirit, and power" achieve "repentance and change of life" and "obedience to the truth."[4] One hundred years later van Braght in the *Martyrs' Mirror* commented that the church perpetuates and succeeds herself in space and time mainly by adherence to apostolic doctrine. Again the sacrament and liturgy are notably absent.

The Anabaptist Concept of Worship

Anabaptists placed little emphasis upon ceremonies, liturgies, or a fixed hour of worship. They did not come from an atmosphere of worldliness and earth-centeredness in daily life and then expect a beautiful building and an entrancing liturgy to elevate them to a spiritual mood. They insisted that a follower of Christ lives in the Spirit and walks in the Spirit constantly, and that worship is not an isolated hour when one strains to realize the fullness and nearness of the life of God. For them life was a preparation for worship more than worship a preparation for life. They did not expect the worship hour to shed its sanctifying glow across a secularized week; rather, they expected a week of hallowed walk with God to come naturally to a climax when in the gathered community of disciples Christ again met with His own.

The Anabaptists did not insist that all of their hymns be addressed to God and none to man. They could tolerate some subjectivism and sharing of experience in public worship, because all of life was holy ground. One subject was discussed wherever they met. The Bible permeated all of their thought. In Peter Rideman's confession, written while he was in prison in 1545, it is obvious that all Christians were expected to walk with God in a fellowship which hallowed all the commonplace. He said, "The Father and the Son Himself sanctifieth them with all that He hath given them. Thus everything serveth to the betterment and building up of one's neighbor and to the praise and glory of God the Father."[5] P. T. Forsyth says: "The Anabaptists regarded the Bible as an imperative constitution. . . . They applied it offhand, with its face value, to the circumstances of the hour."[6] Bax calls their attitude a "sensitive impressionism to the Word and will of God."[7] It is obvious that when daily life is lived in the whole light of God's presence, when God's Word is the

4 Paul Peachey, *The Growth of the Mennonite Pattern of Church Organization and Administration* (mimeographed Mss. Scottdale, Pa., 1955), 20.
5 Peter Rideman, *Confession of Faith of the Hutterite Brethren* (London, 1950), 150.
6 Peter Taylor Forsyth, *Faith, Freedom, and the Future* (New York and London, 1912), 54.
7 Ernest Belfort Bax, *Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists* (London, 1903), 10.

constant home of one's thoughts, then sacred hours, spots, vessels, or ceremonies lose much of their significance.

Doubtless the description of a later Hutterite home scene would accurately picture the early Anabaptist home as well. "As you sit talking with your host in a Hutterite colony, quietly, . . . there will be but one subject discussed, no matter how cleverly you may try to avoid it, and that subject will be religion; for it is the one subject that permeates all Hutterian thought, the one subject in the light of which the Brethren judge of every other. Twentieth-century America knows little of that sort of piety which makes the enveloping atmosphere of all Hutterian life. Hutterian people think in terms of the Bible and talk in Scriptural language. Their sermons on Sunday are little more than a succession of Bible verses, with brief running comments; and their daily conversation is almost as Biblical."[8]

Worship for an Anabaptist was a searching God-encounter. A certain spiritualistic tendency is balanced by a strong emphasis upon Scriptural ethics and holy living. In a letter written in 1527, Michael Sattler indicated that false brethren in the church will be exposed when they attempt to share in an intense worship experience. Excommunication is not a legal procedure, it is pneumatic. One need not list charges and disown persons on the basis of the Schleitheim Confession or even on the basis of some word of Scripture, but rather on the basis of the discerning of spirits. Sattler advises: "Forget not to assemble yourselves together, but give diligence that you constantly meet together, and be united in prayer for all men, and in breaking of bread, and this with the more diligence, because the day of the Lord is approaching (Heb. 10:25). In this assembling you will make manifest the hearts of the false brethren, and will speedily rid yourselves of them."[9] Apparently both theological and ethical discipline were in the hands of the worshiping congregation. The body of Christ was actively discerning the mind of Christ the head, binding and loosing on earth what had already been bound in heaven. Congregations had not yet degenerated into "audiences."[10]

Places of Worship

Early Anabaptists were not opposed to worshiping in church buildings, but were usually prohibited by their persecutors from doing so. Johannes Kessler's *Sabbata,* a chronicle of events between

8 Bertha W. Clark, *The Hutterian Communities,* quoted in John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren* (Goshen, 1931), 145.

9 A. Orley Swartzentruber, "The Piety and Theology of the Anabaptist Martyrs in Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror,*" *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1954), 28:18.

10 Franklin H. Littell, "Spiritualists, Anabaptists, and the Church," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1955), 29:37.

1523 and 1539, records that the majority of Anabaptists in St. Gall defended worshiping in church buildings because "the Apostles were willing to preach the Word in the temple and synagogue."[11] In Salzburg it is reported that the new groups met and "held conventicles in out of the way places . . . . They refused to go any more to the stone temples to hear Mass." The early confession by Rideman speaks of coming together to worship but makes no mention of the place where such meetings were being held (Rideman, 129). A 1527 Bernese manuscript says, "The food for meals during the time of meeting should be furnished by the brethren at whose home the meeting is held."[12] Records in Alsace as late as 1780 report, "As was the custom with the Anabaptists of this period, their meetings were held in the homes of members having a large room to accommodate such a service." The Swiss Brethren in Switzerland had no church buildings until about 1880.[13]

The Anabaptists refused to worship with state church congregations in their buildings, even when they were invited or commanded to do so. Burrage reports that in 1530 in the Regensberg district, north of Zürich, an officer's efforts to have the Anabaptists attend church were not successful. They "refused to partake of the Lord's Supper in the churches, urging that they would thereby eat damnation. They secretly gathered at Watt at Easter time to observe the Lord's Supper among themselves."[14] The Anabaptists refused to worship with those who did not accept their standards of total obedience in discipleship, because they did not feel that such persons could be the "true church." The nonresistant Anabaptists refused to worship with Hubmaier and his group who had abandoned nonresistance, because they felt that he had compromised a central and vital part of their faith and of the Gospel message itself.

Leaders of Worship

The strong Christian community emphasis (*Gemeinschaft*) of the early Anabaptists was felt in their worship. They wanted no centralized leadership or hierarchy, but must worship as a band of pilgrims who were walking the martyrs' way together. Rideman insists that leaders must be called by the group from among its members. "Ministers must not press themselves forward and come to the fore, but wait until God draweth them out and chooseth them. If the church needeth one, or indeed more ministers, she must not elect them as pleaseth herself, but wait upon the Lord to see whom

11 Bax, *op. cit.*, 54.
12 Delbert Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists and Their American Descendants* (Scottdale, 1953), 25.
13 Gratz, *op. cit.*, 92.
14 Henry S. Burrage, *A History of the Anabaptists of Switzerland* (Phila., 1882), 207.

he chooseth and showeth them. . . . After continuing thus earnestly in prayer, those who have been recognized through God's counsel to be suitable are presented to all. If there be many of them we wait to see whom the Lord showeth us by lot; if, however, there be only one or just as many as are needed, then we need no lot, for the Lord hath shown him to us, therefore we accept him or them in the fear of God as a gift and present from God. His appointment to the office is then confirmed before the church through the laying on of the elders' hands."[15] Many early Anabaptist preachers and worship leaders emerged among the laymen as they continued meeting in "Bible circles." Johannes Kessler, who wrote the *Sabbata,* was at one time a member of such a group of laymen who met regularly to read and discuss the Bible.

A tract dated 1528 says that "no one is to be regarded as a right preacher who does not travel from place to place."[16] *Diener* (ministers or servants) were chosen by the members from the laity to admonish the congregation, and elders were designated to baptize and administer the Lord's Supper.[17] The Dortrecht Confession of 1632 stated that "all circuits should be well provided with almoners," who were to distribute alms to the poor. Honorable aged widows should be chosen to assist them. Almoners might assist the bishops to exhort the church, according to their ability.[18]

After the strong leader Blaurock was flogged through the streets and thrown out of the Zürich city gates in 1527, many laymen from the rank and file felt a call to go out preaching.[19] "He who felt a call pictured himself as playing the part of a Hebrew prophet. He gathered together a small congregation of followers who felt themselves as the children of God in the midst of a heathen world."[20] Many of their preachers preached barefooted and in coarse garments wherever they went. With a greeting of peace they would enter a cottage and begin to expound the Bible to the family. The effect on their hearers, caused by their words glowing with enthusiasm, was oftentimes startling. Sometimes it required but a few hours to found a congregation. Having baptized a sufficient number of persons to constitute a nucleus, the Anabaptist apostle would take his staff in hand and journey farther to the next village or homestead.[21]

Obviously not all of their preachers were itinerants of this type, but C. A. Cornelius, an eminent historian and interpreter of Ana-

15 Rideman, *op. cit.,* 81.
16 Bax, *op. cit.,* 71.
17 Hostetler, *op. cit.,* 14.
18 *Confession of Faith and Ministers Manual* (Elkhart, 1914), 20.
19 Bax, *op. cit.,* 26.
20 *Ibid.,* 10.
21 *Ibid.,* 34. The picture given here, however, is not typical of all Anabaptist missioners.

baptist life, describes Hans Hut as "entering Franz Stiegel's home at Wier, in Franconia, reading God's Word and speaking of baptism. Stiegel and eight others were baptized, and the same night Hans Hut goes on his way, never having seen before or ever seeing again those whom he baptized." The Anabaptist preachers who fled to England are described by Heath as "appearing and disappearing, like the Tishbite of old, in this unexpected manner." Heath attempts to prove that John Bunyan got his ideas for *The Pilgrim's Progress* from observing the lives of the persecuted Anabaptist refugees. He finds many key concepts of the book paralleled exactly in Anabaptist life.[22]

Article 5 of the Schleitheim Confession indicates that a leader is "to read, to admonish and teach, to warn, to discipline, to ban in the church, to lead out in prayer for the advancement of all the brethren and sisters, to lift up the bread when it is broken, and in all things to see to the care of the body of Christ in order that it may be built up and developed, and the mouth of the slanderer be stopped."[23] A confession formulated in Holland around 1660 urges, "The church must not turn to those educated in universities for her leaders, but must rather turn to the Father to raise up men, . . . then after he has proven himself . . . choose him as an elder and a teacher . . . by laying on of hands."[24]

The Worship Service

Anabaptist worship was very simple. The trained leaders who led the movement were soon all martyred, and their members were increasingly drawn from the peasant class. Persecution forced them to worship in small groups secretly. Usually the communion service was preceded by an exhortation by the pastor. The breaking of bread was again followed by exhortations to love enemies and return good for evil. "It is probable that in the earlier years worship consisted almost entirely of prayer and instruction. Later on, singing played a large part in the united worship of the brethren."[25] One early confession says: "The brethren and sisters should meet at least three or four times each week to study the teachings of Christ and His apostles and admonish one another in the Lord. When the brethren and sisters come together they should read something they understand which God has laid upon their hearts. The others should remain quiet and listen so that not two or three are speaking at the

22 Richard Heath, "The Archetype of the Pilgrim's Progress. Essays on Anabaptist History," *The Contemporary Review* (1896), 70:541-58.
23 John C. Wenger, *Doctrines of the Mennonites* (Scottdale, 1950), 71.
24 Peachey, *op. cit.*, 27.
25 R. J. Smithson, *The Anabaptists, their Contribution to our Protestant Heritage* (London, 1935), 131.

same time and hinder the others from hearing. The Psalter should be read daily by all. No one should be frivolous in the church of God, whether with words or deeds."[26]

The *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brüder,* containing the history of the Hutterite Brethren from their origin to the year 1685, says the Brethren in Moravia "gathered for worship in peace and unity, and taught and preached the Gospel and the Word of God openly. Twice each week and sometimes oftener they held public religious meetings. Christian excommunication was used against those who fell into grievous sin. . . . Those who gave evidence of true repentance were reinstated."[27] Rideman's confession gives a sketch of a worship service. "We come together . . . to encourage and awaken our hearts in the grace of God, to walk in the Lord's sight with greater diligence and attention . . . . People are encouraged . . . to consider why we have met. . . . After that we give thanks. . . . This is followed by prayers. . . . One proceedeth to proclaim God's Word faithfully . . . . The minister commendeth the church to God the Lord and letteth them depart from one another, each to his place. When, however, we come together to keep the Lord's memory or Supper, the people are encouraged and taught for one, two, or three days and told vividly what the Lord's Supper is, what happeneth there, and what one doeth thereby, and how one should prepare himself worthily to receive the same."[28]

In the early years in Holland it was customary for the whole congregation to kneel at the call of the minister and remain in silent devotion until the minister rose again. This was done twice during each service, at its beginning and its close. Elder Jansen Schedemaker, who in 1596 described their worship, said: "Everyone called upon the Lord without confusion or indecent noise." Hans de Ries (1553-1638) helped to introduce audible prayers, moving his congregation to tears by his fervent praying.[29]

The Lord's Supper

By the Lord's Supper "Christ desireth to show and explain the community of His body to His disciples, that they had become one body, one plant, one living organism, and one nature with Him."[30] "Thus the meal . . . is a sign of the community of His body, in that each and every member thereby declares himself to be of the one mind, heart, and spirit of Christ."[31] The Dordrecht Confession sees

26 Gratz, *op. cit.,* 25 ff.
27 Smithson, *op. cit.,* 73.
28 Rideman, *op. cit.,* 130.
29 Robert Friedmann, "Mennonite Prayer Books," *MQR* (1943), 17:181.
30 Bax, *op. cit.,* 28.
31 Rideman, *op. cit.,* 85.

the Lord's Supper as "observed to His remembrance . . . to remind us of the benefit of the said death and suffering of Christ . . . , whereby we are earnestly exhorted also to love one another."[32] Sebastian Franck said that the Anabaptists "break bread with one another as a sign of oneness and love." The Schleitheim Confession of 1527 prescribed that "the Lord's Supper should be observed as often as the brethren come together in order to proclaim the death of the Lord. This should be an admonition for each to meditate on, for as Christ has given His life for us, and has shed His blood for us, we should be willing to give Him our love and our life. All the brethren should be willing to do this for Christ's sake."[33]

The Lord's Supper was symbolic and not sacramental. Menno said, "To make the visible perishable bread and wine the Lord's real flesh and blood . . . is open blasphemy of the Son of God, abomination and idolatry."[34] Court records of trials of early Anabaptists reveal that "participation in the Lord's Supper thus included the obligation to a Christian manner of life." Jörg Schad testifies that they broke and ate the bread with the intention that "they would always have God in their hearts and think of Him."[35] The Lord's Supper was not only a symbol of Christ's sacrifice, it was a pledge of obedience unto Him, even unto death.

Conrad Grebel understood the Lord's Supper as "a testament of the body and blood of Christ on the cross, . . . a pledge of brotherly love and faithful, sanctified Christian living. For this reason no one may participate in it who does not have a forgiving spirit and who does not live a life of holiness . . . . The ceremonial accompaniments of the ordinance must be simple, in order that true devotion may not be disturbed and thus attention be called to outward things and thereby a false external faith be generated. The Lord's Supper should be observed frequently, though the time is not prescribed, and not in the church-house but in the home, in order that no false devotion may be generated. The worship service in general must be simple in all its details, and liturgical singing should be omitted in order that the spirit of the worshiper may be concentrated in true devotion upon the Word of God."[36] In 1525 Grebel led a communion service in the home of Jakob Hottinger in Zollikon. "The procedure is the most simple imaginable. By way of introduction the New Testament account of the institution of the Lord's Supper is

32 *Confession of Faith, op. cit.*, 21.
33 Gratz, *op. cit.*, 26.
34 *Complete Works of Menno Simons* (Elkhart, 1881), 41.
35 Elmer Ediger, "The Mennonite Approach to Worship and Current Trends," *MQR* (1955), 29:209.
36 H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, 1950), 208.

read; then there is a brief discussion of the meaning of the ceremony, followed by the partaking of the bread and wine."[37]

Baptism

Conrad Grebel wrote: "From the Scriptures we learn that baptism signifies that by faith and the blood of Christ our sins have been washed away, that we have died to sin, and walk in newness of life; that assurance of salvation is through the inner baptism, faith, so that the water does not confirm and increase the faith, as the Wittenberg theologians say, nor does it save." Infant baptism, Grebel affirms, is "a silly blasphemous outrage, contrary to all Scripture."[38] Grebel baptized Blaurock during a small worship and prayer service in Zürich. Adult or believer's baptism became the badge of the new faith. The method was usually by pouring.[39]

The confession of Rideman (1545) lists the questions asked of the applicant for baptism as follows: "If he believeth in God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, . . . if he reject the world, sin and the devil, . . . if he desireth to yield himself to God with all his heart and all his soul and all his members, . . . if he is certain in his heart that this is the truth, . . . if he desireth to bind himself to God and be baptized." Then follows the ceremony. He takes pure water and pours it upon him and says: "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, who, in accordance with the faith, hath forgiven thy sins and drawn and received thee into His kingdom; wherefore sin henceforth no more, lest a worse thing befall thee."[40] Menno says: "By baptism we cannot obtain faith and repentance, neither do we receive the forgiveness of sins, nor peace, nor liberty of conscience, but we testify thereby that we have repented, received pardon, and faith in Christ."[41]

The real issue between Anabaptists and others was not a mode or time of baptism, but the status of the child in the church of God. It is the question of the identity of the Old Testament covenant relationship with that of the New.[42] It appears that believer's baptism was often performed on the spot when conviction seized upon someone that he should request it. Fritz Blanke describes a Bible study gathering of five peasants, three theologians, and a man schooled in secular knowledge, in Rudi Thomann's home in Zollikon in 1525. During the Bible study Hans Bruggbach suddenly arose and wept "and cried that he was a great sinner." He confessed his sin and

37 Fritz Blanke, "The First Anabaptist Congregation, Zollikon 1525," *MQR* (1953), 27:19.
38 Smithson, *op. cit.*, 41.
39 H. S. Bender, *op. cit.*, 137.
40 Rideman, *op. cit.*, 79.
41 *Complete Works of Menno Simons*, 29.
42 Henry Elias Dosker, *The Dutch Anabaptists* (Phila., 1921), 183.

pleaded for baptism. Felix Manz quoted from Acts 10:47: "Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized?" Blaurock replied, "No one." Now Manz "seizes a metal ladle with a handle such as was used in the kitchens at that time, and pours water from it on the head of the baptismal candidate saying, 'I baptize you in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.' "[43] There were, however, cases of Anabaptist martyrs in Holland who had been believers for several years, but had not yet been baptized.

The Hymns Used in Anabaptist Worship

The deep devotional spirit of Anabaptist life is clearly seen in their singing. "To sing spiritual songs is good and pleasing to God if we sing in the right way, that is, attentively, in the fear of God and as inspired by the Spirit of Christ . . . . Where this is not the case, and one sings only for carnal joy or for the sweet sound or for some such reason, . . . he that does so sins greatly against God, for he uses His Word, which was given for his salvation . . . as leading to the lust of the flesh and to sin. . . . It is a worldly song, for it is not sung in the Spirit. He, however, who sings in the Spirit, considers diligently every word, . . . why it has been used and how it may serve to his betterment."[44] The depth of the Anabaptist religious movement is revealed in the messages of its hymns. They dwell on Christ and His cross, on the need of following Christ in love for enemies, even to martyrdom. They speak of regeneration by God's Spirit, about brotherly love, and the teachings of Jesus. The earliest hymns are by the Swiss Brethren, many of them martyr hymns written while the authors were in prison. The Dutch Anabaptist hymns also include melancholy outbursts, not of anger, but of pleas and protests toward the persecuting governments.[45]

The early hymns were not bound into a volume, lest enemies destroy them, until the *Ausbund* was collected in 1564. Hymns were long and plaintive. Felix Manz wrote one of 18 stanzas, Schiemer one of 11, Hubmaier one of 18, and Hans Betz one of 46 stanzas. The hymns were not a cloak for radical social teaching; they breathe the spirit of confidence in God and His sovereignty, and a belief that He will fight the battle of His people.[46] The Dutch Anabaptists in 1562 published a hymnbook similar to the *Ausbund* called *Het Offer des Heeren,* or *The Sacrifice of the Lord,* although it is a collection of religious poetry rather than a hymnbook. The early hymns and poems of the Swiss Brethren picture the heroic and cheering hope of

43 Fritz Blanke, *op. cit.,* 21.
44 Rideman, *op. cit.,* 123.
45 Smithson, *op. cit.,* 132.
46 Smithson, *op. cit.,* 134.

the hereafter by which they lived. They reveal a quiescent, experiential type of Christian life, ready to suffer imprisonment and death for cherished convictions. Some of the early Dutch hymns fill the soul of a sympathetic reader with horror and indignation at the wholesale and single murders perpetuated in the name of religion. About 750 hymns written by Anabaptists between 1527 and 1570 have been preserved, and about one half of these are martyr or historical songs. Wolkan's tabulation of Anabaptist hymns attributes 269 hymns to 130 writers. For 72 per cent of the hymns the authors are unknown.

By comparison with the splendid body of German hymns which the Lutheran writers produced in the same era, the Anabaptist hymns are decidedly inferior both in language and objective treatment of the subject matter. Their leaders lacked Luther's consummate musical and linguistic genius, being largely unlearned folk.[47]

The plaintive type of Anabaptist hymn may be illustrated by one by Schiemer, from the *Ausbund.*

Thine holy place they have destroyed, Thine altars overthrown,
And reaching forth their bloody hands, have foully slain Thine own.
And we alone, Thy little flock, the few who still remain,
Are exiles wandering through the land, in sorrow and in pain.

We are, alas, like scattered sheep, the shepherd not in sight,
Each far away from home and hearth, and like the birds of night
That hide away in rocky clefts, we have our rocky hold,
Yet near at hand, as for the birds, there waits the hunter bold.

We wander in the forests dark, with dogs upon our track,
And like the captive, silent lamb, men bring us prisoners back.
They point to us amid the throng, and with their taunts offend;
And long to let the sharpened ax on heretics descend.[48]

In order to really understand the plaintive cry of these martyr hymns one would need to stand under the shadow of martyrdom oneself.

The Hallowing of Life

To the Anabaptist sacred hours, vessels, or places were not elevated above the rest of life because all of life was sacred. Seldom in church history did a people come nearer to achieving the prophet's vision that "on the bells of the horses" shall be inscribed "Holiness to the Lord," and that every pot which a housewife uses shall be as sacred "as the bowls before the altar."[49] Rideman insists that private

47 A. J. Ramaker, "Hymns and Hymn Writers Among the Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century," *MQR* (1929), 2:100-111.
48 Henry S. Burrage, *Baptist Hymn Writers and Their Hymns* (Portland, 1888), 9.
49 Zech. 14:20, 21.

prayer must be offered only as instigated and prompted by the Holy Spirit and after one has been reconciled to any and all of his brethren. Fasting was to be secret, to chasten the obstinacy and desires of the flesh, to forgive others, to give bread to the hungry, to house the orphan, and to clothe the naked.[50] Bending one's neck like a hook and "lying on a hair shirt" was condemned. Sabbath day observance was not taught, since the day which is kept is "a matter of indifference." Since it is usual for all men to observe Sunday, "we also have a day of quiet in which to read the Lord's Word and listen to it, and thereby revive our heart to continue in the grace of God . . . . We keep the day . . . to exercise ourselves in the Word of God."[51]

50 Rideman, *op. cit.*, 125.
51 *Ibid.*, 126.

ANABAPTISM IN EAST FRIESLAND

Cornelius Krahn

The territory in the extreme northwest of Germany next to the Dutch border, known as East Friesland, was unified as a country during the fifteenth century and became a principality on April 22, 1654. In 1744 East Friesland became a Prussian possession; in 1807 it passed under Dutch rule; in 1810 it became French; in 1815 it was made a part of Hanover; and in 1866 it became a Prussian possession once more. Its government is located at Aurich.

East Friesland has played a significant role in the history of the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement in Northwest Europe. The East Frisian historian Eggerick Beninga says that Anabaptists appeared in East Friesland for the first time in 1528.[1] This statement has been repeated many times, but specific information about who these Anabaptists were and where they appeared is lacking. Count Enno wrote to Philip of Hesse in 1530 that there had been unbaptized children in East Friesland for five years, and speaks of followers of Thomas Müntzer who found refuge in East Friesland.[2] On January 19, 1530, prior to the preaching and baptizing mission of Melchior Hofmann in Emden, the counts Enno and Johann published the Edict of Speyer banning all Anabaptists from their territory.[3] The first *Kirchenordnung* presented in 1529 strongly emphasized infant baptism.[4]

As long as specific information regarding sources, contents, and proponents of these views is lacking, however, it is questionable whether these dissidents can be classified as "Anabaptist." Warnings against Anabaptism may simply be an echo from Wittenberg or may refer to views held by Carlstadt, who indeed had followers in East Friesland. There is no record available to prove that believers' baptism was practiced in East Friesland before the coming of Melchior Hofmann from Strasburg in 1530, where he had joined the Anabaptists. Everything preceding this must be considered as premonitory of coming Anabaptism. On the other hand, Melchior Hofmann did not bring much that was new to East Friesland and the Low Countries except the seal of the covenant, believers' baptism.

Hofmann's success and the rapid spread of the early Anabaptist movement in East Friesland, its survival and later cultural contribution, are due to factors unique in the country and its Reformatory

1 E. Beninga, *Volledige Chronyk van Oostfrieslant* (Emden, 1723), 652.
2 C. A. Cornelius, *Der Anteil Ostfrieslands an der Reformation bis zum Jahr 1535* (Münster, 1852), 20.
3 E. Kochs, "Die Anfänge der ostfr. Reformation" (III) in *Jahrbuch d. Ges. f. bild. Kunst u. Vaterl. Altertümer zu Emden*, 20:58.
4 E. Meiners, *Oostvrieschlandts kerkelyke Geschiedenisse* (Groningen, 1738), 1:582.

movement in general. Culturally and politically it had close ties with the provinces of the Low Countries, particularly Groningen. The Brethren of the Common Life and Humanism (Georg Aportanus, Johann Wessel Gansfoort, Wilhelm Gnapheus) also paved the way for the Reformation. Friesland was ready to accept the light coming from Wittenberg, was in touch with Strasburg and Zürich, and developed a Sacramentist movement similar to that in Holland, but was in all matters quite independent in accordance with the Frisian national characteristic. The chief promoters of the Reformation were Edzard I[5] (1491-1528), Ulrich van Dornum, and Hicco van Oldersum. Aportanus of Zwolle, the tutor of Edzard's three sons, publicly preached the "new Gospel" in the *Grosse Kirche* of Emden, and Ulrich van Dornum[6] sponsored a Catholic-Evangelical disputation at Oldersum in 1526, sheltered Carlstadt and Melchior Hofmann in 1529 (both dedicated books to him and he had his printed in Wittenberg), and was in touch with Sebastian Franck.[7] This indicates somewhat the scope and nature of the original Reformation movement in East Friesland.

One of the most significant factors, however, of the later development was the great influx of Dutch refugees in the days of the Inquisition. Among them was Hinne Rode who introduced the Reformation in Norden. Until the death of Edzard I the Reformation movement of East Friesland showed little of the characteristics of Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, but was rather of a Sacramentist nature, to Luther's great annoyance. It was in this atmosphere that Carlstadt, Hofmann, and Franck found a hearing. In these crucial days young Enno II (leaning toward Lutheranism) saw the Spiritualist-Sacramentist forces come to the fore, which likely caused him to publish the Edict of Speyer on January 19, 1530. On March 25, 1530, he reported to Philip of Hesse that his ministers held Sacramentist views and denied the sacramental character of baptism. Some advocated baptism at the age of 33, not having had their children baptized for the last five years.[8]

Thus when Melchior Hofmann appeared in East Friesland in May, 1530, this time coming as an Anabaptist evangelist, he found the soil well prepared. Contrary to his first visit he could now appear publicly. Even the doors of the *Grosse Kirche* of Emden were opened to him and he is said to have baptized some 300 persons there, both "burgher and peasant, lord and servant." This bold act can be ex-

5 Kochs (II), *op. cit.*, 19:173 ff.
6 *Ibid.* (III), 20:32 ff.
7 *Ibid.* (III), 20:30 ff.; Ohling, "Aus den Anfängen der Reformation . . . ," *Ostfriesland* (Norden, 1954), 111 ff.
8 Cornelius, *op. cit.*, 58.

plained only by the assumption that he had followers in leading circles, including the ministry. That Count Enno was moved to tears by Hofmann's deliberations is likely a fable. Whether Hofmann voluntarily left East Friesland or was compelled to do so is not definitely known; in any event he went to Strasburg in October, unfortunately leaving no able leader behind.[9]

This was the origin not only of the Anabaptist movement in East Friesland but in Northwest Europe in general. From here it spread in all directions and to this place Anabaptist refugees returned for protection in spite of mandates issued against them. Although they did not achieve numbers and strength to compete successfully with the Lutherans and Zwinglians, they greatly benefited from the rivalry between these two groups. From Emden Jan Volkertszoon Trypmaker took the message to the Low Countries. Thousands of Anabaptist refugees from Antwerp to Friesland, among whom were Menno Simons, Dirk Philips, Leenaert Bouwens, and Hans de Ries, and even extreme mystics like David Joris and Hendrik Niclaes, found a haven in East Friesland.

In 1534-35 Enno II issued warnings against the Anabaptists, which apparently had little effect. After his death his widow, Anna of Oldenburg, who ruled as regent from 1540 to 1562, called on the Polish reformer John a Lasco to complete the Reformation and organize the church. Under pressure of the imperial government Anna issued decrees against the Anabaptists which through the mediation of a Lasco were applied primarily against David Joris and his followers. With Menno Simons he had a public discussion in January, 1544, hoping to win him. During the same year Menno left East Friesland and the following year Countess Anna stated that those "Mennisten" who were not willing to accept the instruction of her ministers were to leave the country.[10]

The extent of the movement during the sixteenth century can be estimated to some degree by the number of individuals baptized by Leenaert Bouwens, who kept a record for the years 1551-82, which lists over 600 persons baptized in East Friesland, over 400 of whom were living in Emden and vicinity.[11] It is likely that many of them were the second generation of refugees from the Netherlands. If the other elders mentioned were only partly as successful, the total number of Anabaptists of East Friesland during the sixteenth century could easily have been several thousand. The fact that the ministers

9 Kochs (III), *op. cit.*, 20:74.
10 Cornelius Krahn, *Menno Simons* (Karlsruhe, 1936), 61.
11 K. Vos, "De dooplijst van Leenaert Bouwens," *Bijdr. en Mededeel. v. h. Hist. Gen.* (1915), 36:39 ff.

and church councils of the Reformation churches were so alarmed about the spread of the Mennonites is also an indication that they must have been numerous. In addition to those baptized in East Friesland the Anabaptists from the Netherlands continued to pour into the territory throughout the sixteenth century. It is interesting to note that there was little change from the location of the Mennonites during the sixteenth century as found in Leenaert Bouwens' list of baptismal candidates to that of the seventeenth century as found in the lists compiled by the government to solicit the payment of the *Schutzgeld*.[12] They were living in Leer, along the Ems River, in Emden, in the *Greetmer Amt* between Emden and Norden, and in Norden and the rural area north of it. Their services as experts in draining the land were appreciated, and for generations they were welcome renters on the estates of the nobility. Thus the Mennonites were mostly located in the western part of East Friesland including the area of Zürich. In the days of Leenaert Bouwens, however, at least one settlement of Mennonites was located in the east on the estates of Freitag at Gödens near Neustadt, where Bouwens baptized twenty persons.

The manifold divisions among the Mennonites of the Low Countries during the sixteenth century were also transplanted to East Friesland, including the Flemish, the Old Flemish (Uckowallists), the Frisians, and the Waterlanders. During the seventeenth century the lists referred to above, however, speak only of two groups, the Mennonites and the Uckowallists.[13]

Numerous significant Anabaptist meetings were held in the city of Emden during the sixteenth century, at which far-reaching decisions were made. In 1547 nearly all elders of the Low Countries met in Emden to discuss matters of discipline and doctrine. The discussion dealt primarily with Adam Pastor's deviating views regarding Christology.[14] In 1568 the Waterlander Mennonites met in Emden to agree on numerous articles regarding their ministers and deacons, nonresistance, marriage outside of the church, and usury. In 1578 the Flemish and the Frisian Mennonites met at Emden to discuss the basis of a possible union. Early in 1578 numerous Mennonite elders met in Emden, a fact which did not remain unnoticed. This was one of the reasons why the Reformed Church and the government arranged for the well-known Emden Disputation of 1578. On April 3, 1579, seven representatives met here under the leadership of Hans de

12 J. P. Müller, *Die Mennoniten in Ostfriesland* (Emden, 1887), 207 ff.
13 *Ibid.*, 207 ff.
14 *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt a.M., 1913), 1:565.

Ries, at which time the Emden *Verdrag* (Agreement) was reached which was later signed also by other leaders.[15]

Emden not only served as a place of activity and shelter for Melchior Hofmann, Menno Simons, and other outstanding leaders, but also particularly for Leenaert Bouwens, who made extensive trips from here to various cities and provinces, and for Dirk Philips, who resided here at times and was buried here. Nikolaas Biestkens van Diest, the well-known Mennonite publisher, had a printing establishment at Emden where he printed the New Testament, the Bible, and the songbook *Het Offer des Heeren* through which he greatly helped the spread of the Anabaptist movement.[16] A significant resident of Emden was Hans de Ries, who served the congregation from 1592 to 1598. Another Dutch refugee was Ucko Walles, a conservative Old Flemish leader who found refuge between Aurich and Emden and lived there as a renter for a number of years. The house in which he lived still stands today.

East Friesland and Emden were the stronghold of the Anabaptist movement after the collapse of the Münsterite kingdom, sheltering Dutch Anabaptist refugees until religious freedom was finally established in the Low Countries. The course of Anabaptism in the Low Countries would have been entirely different had it not been for the relative freedom which its adherents enjoyed in the province in East Friesland. There is a very close parallel along these lines between the Dutch refugee church in East Friesland and the Anabaptist movement.

Numerous disputations between the Anabaptists and the churches of the Reformation took place in East Friesland. In 1544 Menno and a Lasco held their discussion in Emden. The subjects of their discussion were (1) the Incarnation of Christ, (2) baptism, (3) original sin, (4) justification, (5) the call of ministers. As a result of this discussion both published the reports and views which they had presented.[17] In 1556 there was a similar discussion between the Mennonites and their opponents at Norden, and in 1578 the better known Emden Disputation of February 27 to May 17 took place. [18] In addition to John a Lasco, Gellius Faber, Martin Micron, and Menso Alting, all of whom tried to win the Mennonites, although not so vehemently as Luther and his co-workers, there were the following less known representatives: Georg Aportanus of Emden, Hermanus Aquilomontanus of Oldersum (whose letters to Heinrich Bullinger

15 S. Blaupot ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Groningen, Overijssel en Oost-Friesland* (Leeuwarden, 1842), 1:264 ff.
16 *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottdale, 1955), 1:340 ff.
17 Krahn, *Menno Simons*, 57 ff.
18 Krahn, "The Emden Disputation of 1578," *MQR* (1956), 30; 256-58.

throw significant light on the early development of the Anabaptist movement and have not yet been made use of), Johann Oldeguil of Emden, Gehardus Nikolai of Norden, and Bernhardus Buwo of Eilsum. Nikolai translated Bullinger's *Adversus anabaptistas* and Buwo published a *Dialogus* (1563) against the Anabaptists which is, considering the age, exceptionally tolerant.[19]

The Reformers of Bremen and Lüneburg (i.e., Bugenhagen and Luther, and their followers), the Strasburg Reformers, Zwingli, Erasmus, and Sebastian Franck, not to speak of the Catholic and imperial forces, tried to shape or influence the future of the Reformation in East Friesland. Had it not been for Edzard I, who refused to follow the example of many Reformation-minded rulers of his day, i.e., to reform his country from above (*cuius regio, eius religio*), and who let the Reformation take its own course in East Friesland by giving it gentle and wise direction, its fate would have been different. Because of this independent attitude East Friesland became the haven of a great variety of factions who had fled from many places because of their convictions. Even a survivor of the Münsterite kingdom, Hermann Krechting, became a respected citizen in Neustadt-Gödens.[20] David Joris and Hendrik Niclaas also found refuge in East Friesland. Joris went from here to Basel where he continued his activities as Johann van Brugge.

Among the outstanding peaceful Anabaptist leaders of the early days who lived in East Friesland were Melchior Hofmann, Menno Simons, Dirk Philips, Leenaert Bouwens, Hans de Ries, and Ucko Walles. Besides these, many others resided and worked here for longer or shorter periods. A list of elders and preachers of the Old Flemish wing from 1640 to 1750 names seven for Emden, five for Leer, seven for Neustadt-Gödens, three for Norden, and one for Oldersum.[21] The Oldersum congregation was discontinued during the nineteenth century.

The successors of Edzard I, with the exception of Anna van Oldenburg, did not all follow the example of their great ancestor regarding the Reformation and basic principles of tolerance. Edzard II (1562-99), under whom the Emden Disputation of 1578 took place, and Enno III (1599-1625) issued severe edicts against the Mennonites. Rudolf Christian (1625-28) issued a *Schutzbrief* (guarantee of protection) for the Mennonites on May 26, 1626, granting them limited religious freedom upon the payment of a certain amount per fam-

19 S. Cramer, *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Néerlandica* (The Hague, 1904), 7:267 ff.; W. Hollweg, "Bernhard Buwo," *Jahrbuch d. Ges. f. bild. Kunst u. Vaterl. Altertumer zu Emden* (1953), 30:71 ff.

20 G. de Buhr, *Der Wiedertäufer Heinrich Krechting* (Mss.).

21 *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* (1879), 7-8.

ily, thereby setting the pattern for his successors until East Friesland became Prussian territory in 1744. At this time the Mennonite church at Emden was exempted from all special payments. Step by step the congregations had to struggle to gain full liberty and equality as citizens and congregations, a status which was not fully attained until the Revolution of 1918. The German constitution of 1919 made provision for complete equality. Meanwhile the principle of nonresistance, although not the refusal to swear an oath, had been given up.

The question as to what percentage of the Reformation-minded forces and of the Anabaptists in East Friesland came from the Low Countries and other places has not been investigated. Neither is it known to what extent East Friesland served as a temporary shelter from whence they proceeded to other places. It is certain, however, that in many instances this was the case. Many Anabaptists must have returned to the Netherlands after the Catholic authorities had been overthrown. Others had already gone east to Schleswig-Holstein (among them Menno), and to the Vistula region. How long this process continued, and what was the relationship between the homeland and the daughter settlements, has not been fully investigated.[22] The culture and language, particularly in worship, of the "church of strangers" (Mennonites) remained Dutch until the middle of the nineteenth century. However, little was published after the sixteenth century. The congregations often called their ministers from Holland and were members of the various Dutch Mennonite organizations, including the *Algemeene Doopsgezinde Societeit,* of which they are still members. Since World War I the remaining congregations, Emden, Leer, and Norden, are being served by one German minister.

Today there are barely 500 Mennonite church members in all of East Friesland who belong to the three city congregations: Emden, Leer, and Norden. Rural Mennonite life has vanished. Some Mennonites became, like the Brons family in Emden or the Stroman and the ten Doornkat Koolman families in Norden, prosperous businessmen and industrialists or middle-class businessmen, craftsmen, and laborers. One is mystified by this development and asks why the once prosperous active rural Mennonite congregations founded by Menno, Dirk Philips, and their co-workers have disappeared. The various archives contain names of Mennonites of all rural areas while the church records of the cities contain full information about the fami-

22 B. H. Unruh, *Die niederländisch-niederdeutschen Hintergründe der mennonitischen Ostwanderungen im 16., und 19. Jahrhundert* (Karlsruhe 1955), 34 ff., deals with this question.

lies residing in the cities.[23] These records should prove to be very helpful in determining what families moved from the country to the city and also when this occurred. The records of the Reformed churches in the communities in which Mennonites resided should also help to determine how many of the rural Mennonites gradually joined the Reformed Church. Some of the reasons for which the Mennonites left rural areas to go to the city or to give up the Mennonite affiliation may be traced to the fact that for generations they were compelled by the government to make a special payment (*Schutzgeld*). The archives contain many lists of Mennonites from whom this money was extracted annually because Mennonites and Jews were not considered full-fledged citizens since they were dissenters from the faith.[24] When a king was crowned they were expected to present a substantial gift in money. This burden weighed heavily upon them from year to year and from generation to generation. This practice was initiated by the ruler Rudolf Christian, May 26, 1626, by granting them protection and a limited religious freedom for the payment of a certain amount per family. Only when East Friesland became a part of Prussia in 1744 was the practice discontinued. Even after this the Lutheran clergy of Norden forced the Mennonites to pay fees to the Lutheran church in general and for their funerals, even though the funerals were not conducted in the Lutheran church. The Mennonite city churches with some well-to-do and influential members could defend themselves in situations like these better than the scattered rural Mennonites. This may have been a reason why the trend toward the city set in rather early. Long before World War I no rural Mennonite church remained.

The rural Mennonite population was found mostly along the west coast of East Friesland. The Mennonites were popular as an economic factor because of their traditional ability to combat the sea by building dams and draining swampy regions. In the suburban areas of Leer and Emden, where Mennonites lived in large numbers, they established a weaving industry during the sixteenth century.[25] Of the 122 male members between 1700 and 1740 who died at Emden there were 63 who had been connected with the weaving industry. Later business became more predominant. During the eighteenth century it was commonly said at Emden: "Only rich people belong to the Mennonite church." This is evidenced later by the fact that the average member of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Catholic churches

23 Microfilm copies, Bethel College Historical Library.
24 J. P. Müller, "Beilagen," *Die Mennoniten in Ostfriesland* (Amsterdam, 1887).
25 Ernst Esselborn, "Die Leinenweberei in Leer," *Jahrbuch d. Ges. f. bild. Kunst u. Vaterl. Altertümer zu Emden,* Vols. XXV (1937); XXVI (1938); XXVII (1939).

paid about one dollar tax for school in 1891-92, while the average Mennonite member paid about $18.[26] World War I and World War II destroyed the prosperity of the Mennonites, particularly of Emden. The once large families had become smaller and the membership decreased gradually. Through the efforts of the present pastor, A. Fast, many non-Mennonites have been won for the church. A considerable number of Mennonite refugees from West Prussia settled in this area after World War II and became members of the three congregations here, especially Emden.

26 A. Fast, *Die Kulturleistungen der Mennoniten in Ostfriesland und Münsterland* (1947), 6-8.

THE EMDEN DISPUTATION OF 1578

Cornelius Krahn

The *Protocol Book* of the Reformed Church of Emden[1] has an entry dated January 20, 1577, stating that some of the ministers were to go to Count Edzard II to ask him to issue a mandate to restrain the Anabaptists from preaching. Should they not be willing to defend their faith their meetings should be prohibited. Then it is added that Willem de Visscher should first be spoken to "as a brother" asking him whether the above plan was advisable. A later entry states that the brethren had spoken to Visscher on January 30. On February 10, 1577, Menso Alting, Jasper Celos, and Luppe Sikkes proposed to the Drost of Emden a disputation with the Mennonite leaders. Although the *Protocol Book* makes no further mention of this event, what followed is known through other sources. The *Protocol Book* does, however, reveal that among the Reformed clergy and church council there had been during the preceding years a concern and jealousy regarding the spread of the Anabaptists.

Early in 1578 numerous Mennonite elders met in Emden, a fact which did not remain unnoticed.[2] In the preface to the *Protocol* of the Emden Disputation Count Johann of East Friesland, reviewing the factors that had led to the disputation, stated that it had always been the concern of the government to keep the land free of "errors" and "sects." It attempted to achieve this by securing good and qualified ministers for the congregations and by issuing mandates forbidding the introduction of sects by severe penalties. In spite of all efforts, he continued, the Anabaptists had increased in numbers and therefore his government was thinking of other means "to maintain the pure evangelical teaching."[3] In February, 1578, Edzard wrote that Menso Alting made a statement from the pulpit of the *Grosse Kirche* indicating that about a "thousand Anabaptists were coming to Emden from Holland and other places to live there."[4]

An Anabaptist leader was apprehended who declared himself willing to discuss matters of faith with the Reformed ministers. Not able to "condemn anyone without a hearing" the government granted the request of the Reformed ministers to combat the Anabaptists with "decent means" (*met behoorlijke middelen weyren*) and to arrange for a disputation. The Waterlanders and the Frisians did not

1 Original in Emden; microfilm in Bethel College Historical Library.
2 *Protocol. Dat is, Alle handelinge des Gesprecks tot Embden in Oostvrieslant met den Wederdooperen, die hen Vlamingen noemen, gehouden . . .* (Emden, 1579), 378b.
3 *Ibid.*, ija, iija.
4 J. P. Müller, *Die Menn. in Ostfriesland . . .* (Amsterdam, 1887), 32 ff.

accept the invitation while the Flemish not only accepted it in a response of February 23 but also suggested February 27 as the first day of the disputation.[5] The disputation was first held in a private home (*Klunderberg*), but soon was transferred to the Gasthaus Church and opened to the public.

From February 25 to May 17, 1578, the debate continued, through 124 sessions, at eight in the morning after a prayer, and at two in the afternoon. The Reformed debaters were the preachers Menso Alting and Johannes Petrejus of Emden, Wicherus Mellesius of Hinthe, Feyto Ruwerdi of Oldersum, and Johannes Nicasius of Borssum. The Flemish Mennonite representatives were Hans Busschaert, Pieter van Ceulen, Paulus Backer, Christian Arends, Jan van Ophoorn (of Emden), and Brixius Gerritsz. The chief speakers were Alting, Petrejus, Pieter van Ceulen, and Busschaert. Of the Flemish only Brixius knew the classical languages. The following served as chairmen: Ocko Vreisen, Helmerus Diurken, Onno Tyabbren, Henricus Geerdes, and H. Paulinus. The speeches were taken down by the imperial notary, Dominicus Julius, and on the Flemish side by Carl van Gent. The records were then read aloud and signed by the chairmen, speakers, and recorders.

The following points were debated: (1) That God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are three independent and differentiated persons, and yet one eternal true God and one divine being. (2) Concerning the creation of man. (3) Concerning the fall of man and the ruin that has resulted, as original sin and the loss of freedom of the will. (4) Concerning Christ, that is, that Jesus Christ, true God and man in a single person, received His humanity from the substance of His mother Mary. (5) Concerning justification and sanctification or second birth of human beings. (6) Concerning good works. (7) Concerning the Church of God, and by what means one may confess it. (8) Concerning the election and call of preachers. (9) Concerning baptism and whether infants of the covenant shall be baptized. (10) Concerning communion. (11) Concerning the proper use and misuse of the ban. (12) Concerning the oath and the entire conception of Matthew 5. (13) Concerning the resurrection of the flesh.

According to *Het beginsel en voortganck* . . . it was good that Pieter van Ceulen was present. Of Pieter van Ceulen the chairman said: "I tell you, Pieter, if you had the training we have, you would dispute all of us out of this church."[6] An original handwritten copy of the *Protocol* has been preserved in the archives of the *Gesellschaft*

5 *Protocol* . . . , iijb, iiija.
6 P. 37 and Cramer, *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Néerlandica* (The Hague, 1904), 7:549.

für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer at Emden, and a microfilm copy has been obtained by the Historical Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church at Newton, Kansas. A careful study of this record, comparing it with the printed copy, would reveal whether and to what extent changes have been made.

The record of the disputation was first published in the Saxon language (language of East Friesland) under the title *Protocol. Dath is, alle handelinge des gesprecks tho Embden in Oistfrieszlandt mit den Wedderdöperen, de sick Flaminge nömen, geholden . . .* (Embden, G. Goebens, 1579). Printed by the same printer and during the same year there appeared also a Dutch translation of the *Protocol* done by Dominicus Julius under the title *Protocol. Dat is, Alle handelinge des Gesprecks tot Embden in Oostvrieslant met den Wederdooperen, die hen Vlamingen noemen, gehouden . . . .* Of this edition a reprint appeared at Leyden in 1616. Copies of all three editions are found in the Mennonite libraries of Amsterdam, Bethel College, and Goshen College.

Before the *Protocol* was published the Mennonite participants expected a biased slant and published a *Voorlooper,* a warning, entitled *Een Christelicke ende voorloopende waerschouwinge . . .* , written by a "Liefhebber der Godtlijcker waerheyt," whose identity is unknown. This pamphlet was added to the official *Protocol* with a brief introduction and a refutation point by point. The writer of the *Voorlooper* makes numerous accusations to the effect that his group was not treated fairly. The refutation and the preface to the *Protocol* by Count Johann make it obvious that the Mennonites were not treated as equals and that the disputation was not a brotherly conference but that it was primarily meant to be a means to defeat the Anabaptist movement in East Friesland. The *Protocol Book* of the Church Council of the Reformed Church of Emden, dating back to 1557, which is preserved in the archives of the *Grosse Kirche,* contains valuable information regarding the relationship of the two groups in Emden.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF EARLY HUTTERITE LIFE

ROBERT FRIEDMANN*

A comprehensive study of the economic aspects of Hutterite life, in the main of their practice of community of goods, has never been undertaken, strange to say, even though material to this end is available in abundance.[1] The present paper attempts a first outline of this subject, admittedly leaving many questions open for further research both in archives and in the field itself. It must be emphasized, however, that a true understanding of the faith and life of the Hutterites is possible only as the economic aspect is considered in the context of their entire history and of their spiritual and social outlook, of what in brief might be called their basic motivations.[2] Although the history of the Hutterian Brethren reveals considerable change and variation in the details of their economic life, according to the degree of freedom experienced, the underlying principles and general patterns nevertheless, were fairly uniformly held ever since the beginnings under Jacob Hutter in 1533.

The climax of Hutterite life and the most complete carrying out of their communal principles comes in the "good" and "golden" periods, about 1554-92, mainly during the reign of the tolerant Emperor Maximilian II (1564-76), who himself leaned toward a Protestant type of Christianity. We are fortunate to possess a fairly graphic picture of the communal life of the Brethren at that time, called *Beschreibung der Gemein Wohlstand,* inserted into the *Larger Chronicle* of the Brotherhood at the year 1569.[3] Here the details of their social organization are described at great length. We learn how Christian community of goods was observed; how obedience and honor

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1 The older works by Johann Loserth (1894) laid the groundwork but it was Frantisek Hruby, the late director of the Provincial Archives of Moravia in Brünn (Brno), Czechoslovakia, who for the first time concentrated upon the economic problem in Hutterite studies, using in the main hitherto unknown materials of these archives. Compare F. Hruby, *Die Wiedertäufer in Mähren* (Leipzig, 1935). For a general consideration of the economic consequences of "ascetic Protestantism" and the sectarian outlook compare Max Weber, *Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1930; first German edition 1905); also Ernst Correll, *Das Schweizerische Täufermennonitentum* (Tübingen, 1924), especially chapter 2. As to the social background of the Hutterite group, see Paul Dedic, "Social Background of the Austrian Anabaptists," *MQR* (January, 1939). Helpful is also the similar study by Paul Peachey, "Social Background of the Swiss Anabaptists," *MQR* (April, 1954). For many details one should consult the articles in the new *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottdale, 1955), Vol. I: "Bruderhof," "Ceramics," "Crafts," "Community of Goods." More articles in this field will appear in later volumes of this *Encyclopedia.* The so-called Larger Chronicle of the Hutterites, published as *Die Aelteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder* (Ed. A. J. F. Zieglschmid, Philadelphia, 1943), remains the chief source for all Hutterian studies. These references apply naturally only to the past, up to about the middle of the seventeenth century. For recent conditions more will be said toward the end of this paper.

2 See Robert Friedmann, "The Christian Communism of the Hutterite Brethren," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (December, 1955).

3 *Aelteste Chronik,* 430-40, or *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Ed. R. Wolkan, Vienna, 1923), 331-38.

were given to the authorities of the world; how missions were established *(Aussendung)*; also how *Diener des Wortes* (preachers) and *Diener der Notdurft* (stewards of the farm and economic affairs) were elected according to a prescribed procedure, and so on. In short, the chronicler assures us, they supported themselves with all manner of occupations *(man nähret sich mit allerlei Handwerk)*, and in addition served also the manorial lords in many ways. No member of the community was allowed to be idle. "It was like a big clockwork where one wheel drives the other, promotes, helps, and makes the whole clock function." Still more graphic is another description offered by the *Chronicle:* "Such a Bruderhof is somewhat like a big beehive where all the busy bees work together to a common end, the one doing this and the other that, not for their own needs but for the good of all." This simile very characteristically hints at the essentially anti-individualistic attitude of the brotherhood. It was understood by all that hard physical labor for the common good (production) was expected of all, while at the same time consumption was restricted according to the principle of frugality as was befitting a life of discipline and Christian obedience.

Large-scale production and restrained consumption necessarily led to such a degree of economic success and wealth as almost inevitably to bring jealousy and slander on the part of the surrounding population.[4] The repute of the wealth of the Brethren (in their best time they numbered about 15,000 baptized members) spread as far as to the Emperor's court in Vienna; everyone knew or claimed to know that they buried "great treasures" to hide them from the authorities. Most likely this charge was true to a certain extent. It should be understood as an act of prudence, however, in the absence of a banking system in anticipation of times of hardship and persecution. During the period of the Turkish Wars (1605-6), and again during the early years of the Thirty Years' War (1618-22), almost all of their savings were confiscated by the government. Yet one generation later Grimmelshausen reports[5] again of their considerable wealth in equipment, livestock, and all the rest in their new Bruderhofs in Slovakia. We know from Max Weber's sociological analysis[6] that this situation is typical of all "ascetic Protestantism" or "worldly asceticism," such as can also be observed in Puritanism or later Pietism. Grimmelshausen reports that he saw the craftsmen-brethren at work

4 See the article, "Fischer, Ch.A.," in *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, 1:646-8, by Johann Loserth.
5 H. J. Christoph von Grimmelshausen, *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* (Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII, Jahrhunderts No. 19-25). (Halle a. S., 1880.) The section on the Anabaptists is found on pages 439-42 and 377. The first edition appeared in 1668.
6 See Max Weber, *op, cit.*

in their shops "as if they had hired themselves out for pay." Since no one could live in the group without contributing his share to the common weal, doing it with greatest conscience and discipline, the net result was a rational establishment of great efficiency, something otherwise completely unknown in Europe in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries where the factory system had not yet been established. It might be helpful to stress here that there was absolutely no motivation for such organization from the profit angle, since the basic economic philosophy of the Brethren was that of stewardship of all earthly possessions,[7] requiring a dedicated care for and optimal organization of all work along certain previously laid out rational plans. In this regard Hutterite communism is truly unique in the entire history of Christian sectarianism.

As to the social status of the Hutterian Brethren, one cannot call them either peasants or craftsmen, and it would be misleading to derive their basic Christian conviction from their social background. Theirs was neither a peasant's Christianity nor a craftsman's Christianity.[8] Anyone who joined the brotherhood had to learn a craft or had to accept his particular assignment, often very different from his former background. This belongs to the pattern of "ascetic Protestantism" with its prevailing rational order and subsequent tendency toward saving *(asketischer Sparzwang).* All money earned was considered a part of the working capital *(Betriebskapital),* and not as wealth, and its management was entrusted to the bishop *(Vorsteher),* to the *Diener der Notdurft,* and sometimes to the buyers *(Einkäufer).* In many ways the entire economic organization and pattern was not unlike that of the medieval monastery, with the one difference that for the Hutterites married life was not only favored but almost required.

The education of the growing generation of the Bruderhof tended to make the young people fit into this accepted pattern. Industry, care, the utmost honesty, frugality, solidity of work, and reliability were the main virtues stressed in their economic pursuits; likewise unselfishness and concern were ever required. Luxury was out of the question; it was simply not valued, hence no longer desired. All crafts were strictly regulated, and these regulations, not unlike medieval guild regulations, were ever and again read before the assembled groups.[9]

7 See E. Correll, *op. cit.,* ch. 2.

8 See the studies of Dedic, *loc. cit.,* and Peachey, *loc. cit.;* also Robert Friedmann, "The Epistles of the Hutterites," *MQR* (1946), 153 ff.

9 Compare the article "Crafts," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia* I, as well as the article "Gewerbetätigkeit der Hutterischen Brüder," *Menn. Lex.,* 2:105-108, by Loserth. An article "Gemeindeordnungen" will appear in *Mennonite Encyclopedia* II.

The economic activities of the Brethren may best be divided into two distinct areas: (a) those within the Bruderhofs, including such activities as the pottery kilns and the bathhouses, and (b) those performed outside, on the state of manorial lords or even in some cities, where occasionally Brethren barber-surgeons were found to be active. On the Bruderhof we may again distinguish between farm activities proper, the care for food, shelter, and clothing (in this regard the Hutterites of today continue these practices as of old),[10] and the different crafts which brought in some needed cash for farm enlargement and the paying of taxes. As far as the farms were concerned, we meet here again the rationality of a large-scale enterprise. Nothing was wasted; everything was carefully used. For instance, hides came from the slaughterhouse to the tannery, and from there to the harness makers, cobblers, pouch makers, etc. Wool was sent to the women who spun it and then sent it on to the weavers or clothmakers and thence to the tailors. Since the cooking was done for an entire Bruderhof (200 to 300 adults plus all the children) utmost economy was possible and practiced. *Diener der Notdurft,* without ever having learned modern techniques of shop organization, soon developed an admirable tradition of efficiency on the farm level supported also by the *Weinzierl,* the foreman or work clerk who supervised all agricultural labor.

As to the crafts, it is truly amazing how these Brethren developed skills otherwise nearly unknown in the early centuries of modern times. Their pottery ware (now called *Habaner faience)*[11] reveals a taste for the shapely and aesthetically appealing which made them stand out in this craft, and was a competitor of the Italian (later also Dutch) faience or majolica ware. In the main this particular craft was developed primarily for cash sale and not so much for Bruderhof needs. The research of F. Hruby shows how much the nobles appreciated these products. Another cash product of high quality was the knives and cutlery ware of finest steel, again somewhat unique in the sixteenth century. Both crafts continued to be practiced among the "Habaner" (apostate descendants of the Hutterites) in Slovakia until after World War I, although among the Hutterian Brethren in Transylvania, Russia, and later America, this skill died out completely. Hruby tells of additional skills of the Hutterites otherwise little practiced in their day; thus we hear of an artistic clock sold for 170 talers to an Austrian archduke, and another one sold to the Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein. Famous were also the Hutterite carriages, which

10 See Bertha W. Clark, "The Hutterian Communities," in the *Journal of Political Economy* (University of Chicago, 1924), Vol. XXXII.
11 See article "Ceramics," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia* I.

were much in demand among the Moravian nobility. Likewise much appreciated were their new-fashioned iron bed frames. In short, the nobles knew only too well why it was advantageous to protect these industrious Brethren and why they ignored as far as possible the repeated persecution order from the Viennese government or from the Counter-Reformatory clergy.

Unique features of Brethren life were also their bathhouses and their barber-surgeons and physicians.[12] These made for a high standard of hygiene and health among the Brethren, and likewise attracted many lords and their families from the surrounding areas. Christoph A. Fischer was most enraged about this fact. "Every Saturday their bathhouses are filled with Christians [Catholics]," he writes, "and not only the ordinary man but also the lords run to them if they need any drug, as if the Anabaptists were the only ones who understood this art." These facts explain why the Brethren thrived even after 1592, the end of the "golden age" period, when the Counter Reformation set in with full force and wars raged over the country as a result of the Turkish invasion.

No less important were the economic activities of the Hutterites outside their Bruderhofs. There were two motives for this: the Brethren needed additional cash (all earnings of individual workers were pooled in a common purse), and even more the Brethren needed the favor of their noble manorial lords, whom they were willing to serve in many capacities, thus demonstrating their indispensability. The latter point was one of the strongest arguments for toleration in Moravia. Manifold were the services of the "hired-out" brethren: they were managers of the farms *(Meier),* vineyards *(Winzer),* wineries *(Kellner),* mills *(Müller),* sawmills, etc. There was hardly any noble estate in southern Moravia and adjacent Slovakia which did not have one or several brethren in its service. By their excellent preparation and moral qualities these men quickly gained the utmost confidence of the lords and the respect of those who worked under them. This is incidentally also true after 1622, the fateful year of "complete" expulsion from Moravia. There was practically no one who could take their place, and in spite of increasingly sharp mandates we find Brethren working on manorial estates in Moravia as late as 1630, and occasionally even in 1640.

No less significant was the service of the Brethren in the field of surgery and medical care; time and again we hear of Hutterite doctors employed by one or another lord (Cardinal Dietrichstein, the head

12 For an exhaustive discussion of this phase of Hutterite activity see the two articles: J. L. Sommer, "Hutterite Medicine and Physicians," *MQR* (April, 1953), and Robert Friedmann, "Hutterite Physicians and Barber-Surgeons," in the same issue.

of the Counter Reformation in Moravia, always called a Hutterite for such service), or in resort places such as the mineral springs of Trencin in Slovakia. We do not know fully the inside story of these services to the "world" and their economic implications; but the motives of service and gaining favorable public opinion seem to have prevailed also in this field.

Very interesting are Hruby's studies concerning the financial situation of the Brethren, their cash reserves, and the way they were taxed and finally deprived of all their savings (capital). Around 1570 (the golden age) the Brethren had to pay an annual tax of 2 per cent on all house-assessed valuation for the needs of Moravia (about 10 guilders or florins per house). Besides this they also had to pay a poll tax *(Kopfsteuer)* and a tax on home-brewed beer. The house tax steadily increased; in 1600 it was already 100 guilders per house and in 1608-10 even as high as 160 guilders. The government was always in need of money for military purposes; since the Brethren refused to pay war taxes, the amounts were simply requisitioned in the form of cattle, horses, or casks of wine.[13] In 1602-5, during the Turkish invasion which did much harm to the Bruderhofs, the need of the Hapsburgs for money grew immensely. In 1602 the government requisitioned 7,000 guilders, and in 1604 the Emperor asked for a "loan" of 20,000 guilders, which, however, was never attained.

The request for money became more and more urgent as the catastrophe of the Thirty Years' War approached. Cardinal Dietrichstein and imperial messengers exerted unbelievable pressure upon the Brethren to extort all the money possible. In 1621 the authorities finally prevailed upon the *Vorsteher* Rudolf Hirzel to divulge the hiding place of the brotherhood money. A total of 30,000 guilders thus fell into the hands of the Cardinal and the Emperor Ferdinand II.[14] The story of this confiscation is one of the most exciting in the long history of the Brethren. The *Chronicle* admits, however, that some money remained (of which Hirzel did not know), buried somewhere in the fields. Hruby estimates that prior to 1619 the Brethren might have possessed around 60,000 guilders, but he calculates that this sum was by no means excessive as it represented the working capital of a community of about 15,000 Brethren, or about 4 guilders per member. Eventually, in 1622, the Brethren had to leave Moravia altogether, leaving behind practically everything, 24 Bruderhofs with their entire inventory of grain, wine, 200 head of cattle, 150 horses,

13 *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Ed. R. Wolkan, 1923), 399 (the year 1579), and 428 (the year 1589).

14 Compare F. Hruby, *loc. cit.*, 91, note 1; also *Geschicht-Buch*, 576-88, or *Aelteste Chronik*, 766-80.

655 pigs and hogs, all furniture and kitchen utensils, woolen material, linen, tools, and all shop equipment. Not counting the value of the houses, gardens, fields, and meadows, the Brethren estimated the value thus lost at at least 364,000 talers.[15]

In spite of this very tangible loss and the ever-increasing fury of war (with plundering, etc.), the Brethren were able to begin rebuilding their communal life in nearby Slovakia, where about one generation later Grimmelshausen found them prosperous again and well organized under Andreas Ehrenpreis, the last great *Vorsteher*. The eighteenth century then saw a decline in both the religious and the communal life of the Brethren and the enforced conversion of most Brethren to Catholicism. These converted Hutterites, known as *Habaner,* experienced a rapid decline after World War I in the new state of Czechoslovakia.

The Bruderhofs in Transylvania never were as flourishing as those in the Moravian and Slovakian areas. Then, around 1760, came the great exodus from the Hapsburg empire into Walachia and Russia, and now the Brethren became farmers exclusively. Although they were still sober and industrious, their previous well-being was gone, and thus also their remarkable skills and crafts. Beginning in 1874 the Hutterites settled in the United States and Canada assisted in part by loans from the New Harmony community people, the Rappites. Bertha W. Clark, reporting on their colonies in 1924,[16] gave a description of their economy which reads as if she had been visiting the sixteenth-century Bruderhofs in Moravia. The only difference is that now the *Diener der Notdurft* or *Haushalter* was called "boss." He handled all the money, he had the keys to all storage rooms, and he organized the work of the entire community. Under him were found the foremen of the farm, mill, carpentry, forge, bootery, etc. Money was used exclusively in contacts with the "world." Needless to say, since there was no private possession, nothing could be bequeathed to one's children (save, perhaps, some handwritten old books). All savings were used to buy more land or machinery. (With respect to the use of modern machinery the Hutterites differ greatly from the Amish.) Every Bruderhof was supposed to be self-supporting, although loans between the colonies were not unknown. Crafts were no longer practiced except for the immediate needs of the colony. Since the Brethren have accepted farm machinery their economies have become fairly thrifty again. Idleness is practically

15 *Geschicht-Buch,* 570 ff.

16 Bertha W. Clark, *loc. cit.* Quite valuable is also a more recent study by the Canadian Mental Health Association, *The Hutterites and Saskatchewan: A Study of Intergroup Relations* (Regina, Sask., 1953); and Joseph W. Eaton, *Culture and Mental Disorders: A Comparative Study of the Hutterites and Other Populations* (Glencoe, Ill., 1955).

unknown, but so is also haste and rush. To avoid monotony, all work rotates among the Brethren within a certain time. In spite of their peaceful attitude even today their neighbors occasionally oppose their expansion and purchasing of land, as in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and elsewhere. The old suspicions and jealousies which prevailed so long in Moravia have not yet completely died out.

Appendix

While crafts of all kinds were favored, trading was definitely forbidden. Since this theme is not discussed in this paper we simply include at this point a quotation from a section, "Concerning Traders," in Peter Rideman's well-known *Account (Rechenschaft)* of 1540.[17]

> We allow none of our number to do the work of a trader or merchant, since this is a sinful business; as the wise man saith, "It is almost impossible for a merchant and trader to keep himself from sin.[18] And as a nail sticketh fast between door and hinge, so doth sin stick close between buying and selling."[19] Therefore do we allow no one to buy to sell again, as merchants and traders do. But to buy what is necessary for the needs of one's house or craft, to use it and them to sell what one by means of his craft hath made therefrom, we consider to be right and not wrong.
>
> This only we regard as wrong: When one buyeth a ware and selleth the same again even as he bought it, taking to himself profit, making the ware dearer thereby for the poor, taking bread from their very mouths and thus making the poor man nothing but the bondman of the rich.[20] Paul saith likewise, "Let him who defrauded, defraud no more."[21] They say, however, "But the poor also profit in that one bringeth goods from one hand to another." There they use poverty as a pretext, seeking all the time their own profit first, and thinking only of the poor as having an occasional penny in their purse. Therefore we permit this not amongst us, but say with Paul that they should labour, working with their hands what is honest, that they may have to give to him that needeth.[22]

The following section then prohibits the occupation of innkeeper, serving wine or beer, "since this goes with all that is unchaste, ungodly and decadent," etc. Although the Hutterites both in the past and at present do accept an occasional drink, the *Rechenschaft* still condemns expressly "standing drinks" (treating) as a cause of evil and transgression of the commandments of God.[23]

17 Peter Rideman, *Account of Our Religion, Doctrine and Faith,* etc. (written 1540; first printed 1565; English edition by the Plough Publishing House of the Society of Brothers, Bridgnorth, England, 1950), 126 ff.
18 Ecclesiasticus 26:29.
19 *Ibid.,* 27:1-2.
20 *Ibid.,* 26:29.
21 Eph. 4:28.
22 Eph. 4:28.
23 Rideman, *op. cit.,* 128.

EXTINCT AMISH MENNONITE COMMUNITIES IN PENNSYLVANIA[1]

MAURICE A. MOOK*

In an article published two years ago in which the ten present Old Order Amish communities in Pennsylvania were identified and located,[2] the present writer stated that "No one knows how many times the Amish have *un*successfully attempted to establish new communities ... in the history of the Commonwealth." Subsequent research at the Mennonite Publishing House Library at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, has revealed evidence of more than a dozen former now-extinct Amish communities in the state. These unsuccessful attempts of the Amish to establish colonies in Pennsylvania range in time from the early eighteenth century to the present year.

There are records of six attempts of the Amish to establish community life in southeastern Pennsylvania during the earliest years of their settlement in America.[3] Only one of these communities survives to the present day. One of their first colonies was the "Northkill" settlement, established in the late 1730's near the present town of Hamburg, in northern Berks County. This frontier community, located some distance north of other settlements in southeastern Pennsylvania, was near a gap in the Blue Mountain range. The geographical isolation of its location and its proximity to a break in the mountain barrier exposed it to the Indian raids of the frontier fringe during the French and Indian War. Also the nonresistant faith of its Amish inhabitants made it an easy victim of such attacks. Had it not been for the Indian raids it might be quite confidently assumed that the colony would have been a successful venture. It

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1 The present paper is a revised version of "Pennsylvania Amish Communities That Failed" which originally appeared in *'S Pennsylvaanisch Deitsch Eck*, in the Allentown, Pa., *Morning Call*, August 21, 1954. It was reprinted, with notes, in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* (1955), 38:33-46. The present version has been revised by bringing the bibliographical references down to date, and is published in the REVIEW with the kind permission of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*. The field work and library research for my studies of the Amish in Pennsylvania have been financed by grants from the Council on Research of The Pennsylvania State University. I record my thanks to the University and the Council for these grants-in-aid.

2 "The Number of Amish in Pennsylvania," *'S Deitsch Eck*, June 26, 1954, reprinted in the January, 1955, issue of the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* (hereinafter referred to as *MHB*).

3 Primary sources for five of the six early southeastern Pennsylvania Amish settlements have been used by Grant M. Stoltzfus in *History of the First Amish Mennonite Communities in America*, master's thesis in history, University of Pittsburgh, 1954. This thesis is the basis of an article by Stoltzfus in *MQR* (October, 1954), 28:235-62. Secondary references to these settlements include C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century, Pennsylvania German Society*, Vol. 35 (Norristown, 1929), ch. 8, "The Amish," 222-58; Smith, *The Mennonites of America* (Goshen, 1909), ch. 8, "The Amish," 208-52; Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites* (Berne, 1945), 554-58; C. G. Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania German Society*, Vol. 49 (Norristown, 1942), 51-59; and C. Z. Mast, *Annals of the Conestoga Valley* (Elverson, 1942), ch. 17, "Earliest Amish Settlements in America," 92-98.

was the largest southeastern Pennsylvania Amish settlement at the time of the Indian Massacre of 1757, which is usually regarded as having softened its success and prepared it for ultimate failure as a living community. Some of the Northkill families surviving these depredations are known to have receded southward to locations nearer the older, less isolated, and less exposed English and German settlements in the southeastern corner of the state.[4]

There were several other small Amish local geographical groups south of Northkill during the middle years of the eighteenth century. I call them "geographical groups," for there seems to be little evidence, other than tradition (inacceptable as historical evidence without corroborating proof), that two or three of these were ever organized as congregations,[5] and it is uncertain as to whether these were sufficiently large or long-lasting to deserve the name "community." There were, however, during these early years, small groups of Amish families in the Oley area, along Tulpehocken Creek, and on Maiden Creek in Berks County.[6] There was also a larger group, formally organized as a congregation, near present Malvern, in eastern Chester County. The members of this community have the distinction of being the first Amish in America to build a "meeting house" for worship services, and its members also in other respects accepted "English" (non-Amish) ways. Today the group would be known as "Church" Amish, or "New Order," to distinguish it from more con-

4 For the Northkill settlement see Stoltzfus thesis, 46-54; Stoltzfus, *MQR*, 28:237-42; Smith (1909), 212; Smith (1929), 228-29 and 240-41; Smith (1945), 555-56; Bachman, 57; and Mast, 92-95. For the Indian massacre of 1757, known in Mennonite history as the "Hostetler massacre," see Harvey Hostetler, *Descendants of Jacob Hochstetler*, "Historical Introduction" by William F. Hochstetler (Elgin, 1912); also Harvey Hostetler, *Descendants of Barbara Hochstedler and Christian Stutzman*, "Historical Introduction" by William F. Hochstetler (Scottdale, 1938), 10-35. Although these excellent genealogies, together containing some 25,000 family entries, deal largely with family history, their historical introductions discuss the early settlement history of the Amish in Pennsylvania, especially with reference to their plight during the French and Indian War. C. K. Hostetler, "The Hostetler Indian Story," *Christian Monitor* (Scottdale, 1922), 14:433-35, is an interestingly written and essentially accurate "old settler" type of story of this event in Amish annals.

5 For the distinction to be made between "community," "church," and "congregation" in Amish history see Mook, *'S Deitsch Eck*, June 26, 1954; also *MHB* (January, 1955), 16:2-3.

6 For these three early settlements see Stoltzfus thesis, 55-59; Stoltzfus, *MQR*, 28:4, 242-45; Smith (1909), 212-13; Smith (1929), 240-43; Mast, 95-98; and Bachman, 57. To these should be added Samuel W. Peachey, *Amish of Kishacoquillas Valley, Mifflin County, Pa.* (Scottdale, 1930). In spite of the title of this privately printed 48-page booklet by a Big Valley (Mifflin County) Amish minister, more than half of it deals with the historical background of the Mifflin County Amish in Europe and in southeastern Pennsylvania. Ch. 2, 19-26, mentions the Oley, Maiden Creek, Tulpehocken, Northkill, and Conestoga "congregations," with special reference to the Maiden Creek group. A few of this untrained historian's facts need correction. Attention should be called also to the *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary* (hereafter cited as *MCD*), edited by Daniel Kauffman (Scottdale, 1937). See articles "Oley Valley," "Maiden Creek Congregation," and "Tulpehocken Settlement."

Stoltzfus does not recognize the early Oley settlement as a community. It was possibly the earliest, and probably the smallest, attempt at Amish settlement. Most accounts emphasize its small size and its temporary and transitional nature. The *MCD* article ("Oley Valley," 275-76), however, presents a different point of view, stating that "It is here that the first Amish Mennonite settlement in America was made," implying that it was in existence from at least 1714 to 1749 and perhaps longer, and claiming that "There are thousands of descendants of these pioneer settlers in other congregations and communities" in the United States. Oley resident families mentioned are Beiler, Fischer, Hertzler, Kauffman, and Plank. These are all typical early American Amish surnames. For such typical family names see Bender, *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (1955), 1:97.

servative congregations now commonly referred to as "House" or "Old Order" Amish. Characteristic Amish surnames are still decipherable on old tombstones in a cemetery near Malvern, and the stone wall foundations of the meetinghouse are vaguely discernible to the present day.[7]

In addition to these five unsuccessful community ventures, in the middle years of the eighteenth century the Conestoga Valley congregation was established in the area the Amish still occupy in this portion of the state. This group grew in size and strength and developed into the thriving present Lancaster County Amish community.[8] From the time of its origin and throughout the history of the Commonwealth, it has been the largest, strongest, and most vital of all Pennsylvania Amish settlements. It is, indirectly at least, the

7 For the Chester County community see Stoltzfus thesis, 60-67; Stoltzfus, *MQR*, 28:245-51; Smith (1909), 213; (1929), 243-44; Bachman, 57-58; Dorothy B. Lapp, "Union Hall," *Chester County Collections* (West Chester, October, 1939), 16:490-93; and M. A. Mook, "An Early Amish Colony in Chester County, Pennsylvania," *MHB* (July, 1955), 16:1-3. There is a complete set of photographs of this meetinghouse (as it stood in ruins in the 1930's) and of the cemetery and of Amish tombstones (as they exist today) on file in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College. Miss Lapp describes the Amish meetinghouse near Malvern and traces its history. *MCD* ("Chester Valley," 55-56) makes an interesting comment, unique in Mennonite literature, concerning the Malvern meetinghouse. The article, apparently based on editor Daniel Kauffman's wide and intimate acquaintance with Amish and Mennonite communities, claims that after the Malvern Amish community became extinct "members of the Old Order branch of the Amish who were opposed to worshiping in church houses, pointed to the abandoned Chester Valley Church as an object lesson warning the members that they should be content to have their public worship in private homes."

For the distinction between Old Order ("House") and New Order ("Church") Amish, based upon nineteenth-century liberal developments in the earlier undivided Amish group, see Bachman, 281-87 ("Schisms"); Smith (1909), 234-52; Smith (1945), 625-37 ("The Troubles of the Amish"); and *MCD* (1937), articles "Amish Mennonites," "Conservative Amish Mennonites," and "Old Order Amish Mennonites," Bender, "Amish Mennonites," *Menn. Encyc.*, 1:97, lists the "serious schisms which broke the unity of the group"; see also A. J. Beachy, "Beachy Amish Churches," *ibid.*, 254. The latter article is reprinted in *MHB* (January, 1955), 16:3. John A. Hostetler discusses some of the issues leading to division in "Amish Problems at Diener-Versammlungen," *Mennonite Life* (October, 1949), 4:34-38, and the current *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory* name and locates the churches, lists the ministers, and estimates the membership in these two branches.

8 The Lancaster County Amish community has attracted more student than any other Amish settlement in America and is both historically and sociologically the best known group. Bachman's book (*op. cit.*, 1942), based upon the author's long residence in the area, is a detailed description of a wide range of Amish customs. Walter M. Kollmorgen's study (*Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, Rural Life Studies No. 4, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1942), based upon field work among the group in 1940, is an able analysis of Amish economic and social life. It has been favorably received and has led to the recognition of the Amish as a worth-while object of study by anthropologists and sociologists. For appreciative reviews of Kollmorgen see Melvin Gingerich, *MQR* (July, 1943), 17:172-74; A. D. Graeff, *'S Deitsch Eck*, March 12, 1948; and J. W. Yoder, *The Historical Review of Berks County* (April, 1943), 8:89-90. Kollmorgen's data have been used in John Gillen, *The Ways of Men: An Introduction to Anthropology* (New York, 1948), 209-20; M. F. Nimkoff, *Marriage and the Family* (New York, 1947), 240-55; E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke, *The Family* (New York, 1945), 79-91; C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York, 1950), 11-14, 341-42, 409-12, and 789-824; G. A. Lundberg, *et al., Sociology* (New York, 1954), 170-83; and J. B. Gittler, *Social Dynamics* (New York, 1952), 110-29. In addition to the Stoltzfus thesis, at least two graduate theses have dealt with the Lancaster County Amish, viz.: E. Jane Miller, *The Origin, Development, and Trends of the Dress of the Plain People of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (M.A. thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1943), and Jane C. Getz, *Religious Forces in the Economic and Social Life of the Old Order Amish in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (M.A. thesis, American University, Washington, 1945). The former discusses the religious basis of plain dress among the "plain church" people of Lancaster County, and includes consideration of Mennonite and Brethren groups, as well as the Amish. The latter thesis cogently argues that the agricultural practices and economic life of the Amish are foursquarely based upon their religious beliefs and principles. A chapter of this thesis was published as "The Economic Organization and Practice of the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," *MQR* (January and April, 1946), 20:53-80 and 98-127.

"mother colony" of all other historic and present-day Amish communities in the state, and it has been, moreover, the source of settlement of many Amish communities in other states of the United States. It is no longer the largest Amish settlement in the United States, as some statements still claim, but it remains one of the three largest local groups, the other two being the community in Holmes and neighboring counties, in east-central Ohio, and the settlement centering in Elkhart County, in northern Indiana.[9]

Subsequent to the earliest southeastern settlements, the next congregations to be founded were three in present Somerset County, two of which are now extinct. The Amish joined the trans-Alleghenian westward movement, which resulted in a settlement in Somerset County which was started in 1767, and within about two decades three geographically distinct Amish communities were in existence in this area. There were the Conemaugh congregation in the northernmost section of the county, the "Glades" congregation farther south, and the Casselman Creek community still farther south, near the Pennsylvania-Maryland line.[10] Of these three the latter group, now known as the "Yoder District, Meyersdale, Pa., Church," is the only survivor. It is currently a single congregation of some 200 members,[11] which would indicate a community of from 500 to 600 inhabitants. It is the second oldest and third largest Amish community in the state at the present time. All three of these early Somerset settlements generously contributed members to newly established Amish

9 "The three largest settlements (of the Amish) in the United States are approximately equal in size and are located in Holmes and adjoining counties in east-central Ohio, in Elkhart and adjoining counties in northern Indiana, and in Lancaster County in southeastern Pennsylvania." John A. Hostetler, *Annotated Bibliography on the Amish* (Scottdale, 1951), Preface, ix. See also the editorial note, presumably by H. S. Bender, introducing the special Amish number of *MQR* (October, 1954), 28:234. Church membership data for these three Old Order groups may be found in the *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory* for 1956, "Church Directory: Old Order Amish Mennonites." For the argument that church membership figures should be multiplied by three to arrive at an estimate of total community population, see Mook, *'S Deitsch Eck,* June 26, 1954, and Hostetler's article on the Old Order Amish Mennonites to appear in a forthcoming volume of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia.* For the Holmes County, Ohio, community see Ervin Gingerich, *Ohio Amish Directory* (privately published in typescript, Millersburg, Ohio, 1955). The author of this directory is deacon of the Sharp Run Old Order Amish Church district near Millersburg.

10 Somerset County Amish settlement history is briefly mentioned in Smith (1909), 214; (1929), 244-45; and (1945), 563. Additional data are given in Alta Schrock, "Amish Americans: Frontiersmen," *West. Penna. Hist. Mag.,* 26:47-58, especially 51-52. Still more detailed treatment is to be found in Alvin J. Beachy, "The Amish Settlement in Somerset County," *MQR* (October, 1954), 28:263-92, especially 264-83. The latter article is most authentic for the southernmost Somerset County settlement. A wealth of information pertaining to the history of the Conemaugh congregation, and also the Glades group, is in the notes of the late Ammon Kaufman of Davidsville, Pennsylvania. It is to be greatly hoped that Mr. Kaufman's notes may soon be made the basis of a published history of these groups. Mr. Kaufman's data will generously supplement and in some particulars correct such information as has yet seen print.

11 The 1956 *Mennonite Yearbook* lists 185 members (p. 82). This church district extends also into Garrett County, Maryland. This congregation is the only Old Order ("House") group in Pennsylvania which worships in a "church house," a practice elsewhere, excepting for one Old Order congregation at Stuarts Draft, Virginia, restricted to the New Order or "Church" Amish. This permits the Meyersdale congregation to be the largest in the state, for the size of the worshiping group is not here limited by the size of the homes of the members. See *'S Deitsch Eck,* June 24, 1954, and *MHB* (January, 1955), 16:2-3.

communities in Ohio and the Middle West.[12] The northern Somerset community included an individual who is one of the few Amishmen to have his name embodied in the cultural geography of the United States. The city of Johnstown was in a sense founded by Joseph Schantz (soon Anglicized to Johns), an Amishman who owned land where the downtown business section of Johnstown now stands, and who deposited a charter with county officials in which a town was laid out with land donated by him for streets, public buildings, a burial ground, and a community commons.[13] Thus a man belonging to a religious sect strictly committed to a rural way of life chose the site of, provided for, and initiated the early development of one of Pennsylvania's largest cities.

Amish settlement in Mifflin County began in the early 1790's. This group grew steadily in size and also contributed heavily by emigration to Amish communities elsewhere.[14] Almost as early, probably in the early nineteenth century, Amish families from southeastern Pennsylvania settled in the Juniata River valley near present McVeytown, across Jacks Mountain marking the southern boundary of "Big (Kishacoquillas) Valley." The Amish congregations here came to be known as the "River Church." Though only a few miles

12 Schrock, 52-53; Smith (1945), 578-80, "The Amish Move West"; and especially Beachy, *MQR*, 28:283-92, "Daughter Colonies of the Somerset County Amish."

13 Local historians, civic leaders, and public officials recognize Joseph Johns as the founding father of Johntown. For example, see Centennial Executive Committee, *History of the Centennial Celebration of Johnstown, Pa.* (Johnstown, 1900), 3-4, 6. "Special Ordinance No. 977," passed by the Johnstown City Council June 30, 1911, four times mentions Johns as the founder of the city. This ordinance is printed in John Meise, *Schantz and Johnstown* (Johnstown, Schantz Memorial Committee, 1913), pages unnumbered, but *c.* pp. 16-18. The Johnstown *Tribune-Democrat* in 1953 published a series of "100th Anniversary Documentary Editions" of the newspaper in which Johns was repeatedly referred to as the founder of the city (March 21, pp. 21 and 23; May 9, p. 11; Oct. 31, p. 22; Nov. 21, p. 24). For Johns as an Amishman see C. Z. Mast, "History of Veronica Holly and her husband Joseph Johns . . . the founder of Johnstown, Pa." in *A Brief History of Bishop Jacob Mast and Other Mast Pioneers* (Elverson, 1911), 716-22, and *Mast, Annals of the Conestoga Valley* (Elverson, 1942), ch. 43, "The Schantz (Johns) Family," 245-50. Other Mennonite historians similarly recognize the historical role of this Amishman: Schrock, 51; Smith (1945), 563; Beachy, 267.

The most extensive treatment of Joseph Johns is to be found in Meise, *op. cit.* (a privately printed book of *c.* 175 unnumbered pages, with parallel text in English and German), sections entitled "Das Schantz Denkmal," "Joseph Schantz und seine Nachkommen," and "Die Gründung von Johnstown." See also H. W. Storey, *History of Cambria County, Pennsylvania* (New York and Chicago, 1907), 1:79-90, and N. D. Schappee, *A History of Johnstown*, ch. 2 (Ph.D. thesis in history, University of Pittsburgh, 1940). This thesis was serially reprinted in the Johnstown *Tribune-Democrat* from September 7, 1940, through January 16, 1941. It is summarized by the author, with attention accorded Joseph Johns, in *University of Pittsburgh Bulletin* (January 15, 1941), 37:3. These fugitive materials have been summarized by the present writer in "The Amishman Who Founded a City," *Christian Living* (July, 1955), 4-7. An extensive series of photographs of Joseph Johns III, his descendants, and the family homestead and cemetery are on file at the Mennonite Publishing House Library at Scottdale.

14 Amish settlement history in Mifflin County is briefly summarized in H. F. James, "The Kishacoquillas Valley: A Study in Human Geography," *The Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (1930), 28:223-39. Divisions which developed in the Amish church in Mifflin County are discussed in J. W. Yoder, *Rosanna's Boys* (Huntingdon, 1948), ch. 1, "Big Valley," 1-20; S. W. Peachey, *Amish of Kishacoquillas Valley, Mifflin County, Pa.* (Scottdale, 1930), 27-43; and J. A. Hostetler, "The Life and Times of Samuel Yoder (1824-1884)," *MQR* (October, 1948), 22:226-41, especially 226-36. The latter author's graduate thesis has a valuable appendix in which the cultural differences between present Mifflin County Amish churches are enumerated and a chart in which the date and church derivation of each division are indicated (*The Amish Family in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania*, M.S. thesis in rural sociology, The Pennsylvania State College, 1951, Appendix I, 251-61).

distant from the larger body of Amish people in Kishacoquillas Valley, the trip over the mountain with team and buggy or wagon was difficult and time-consuming. This impediment to intercommunity communication and visitation may have contributed to the failure of the river group as a separate community. It lost members both by deaths and emigration, with remaining individuals joining the Mattawana Amish Mennonite Church built at the same place in 1871. The Amish church had an estimated membership of 29 in 1850, and the Amish Mennonite Church had 79 members in 1900, according to a local resident.[15] The Amish congregation at this location is now extinct, excepting in memory. Meanwhile the Big Valley Amish have increased from one church to eight church districts, which currently have a total reported membership of over 600. It is now and for some years has been the second largest Amish community in the Commonwealth.[16]

The date of origin of the nineteenth-century Amish community in Juniata County is unknown to the writer, but it may have been as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1850 there were two organized churches, one in Lost Creek Valley, and one in Tuscarora (Creek) Valley, respectively north and south of the Juniata River in the vicinity of Mifflintown. In an Amish census for 1850, taken in 1900 and based upon the memory of Amish old-timers who claimed ability to remember back to 1850, it was estimated that there were 85 members in these two churches at mid-century. In 1900 one member of the church was listed for Tuscarora Valley and none for Lost Creek Valley. In 1950 Dr. John A. Hostetler and the writer found several former farmer-neighbors of the Amish who could vaguely remember this Amish colony which apparently was abandoned in the late 1880's or early 1890's. It became extinct by deaths or by the removal of Amish families to Nebraska, adjoining Mifflin County in Pennsylvania, and elsewhere.[17] Several small old cemeteries north and east of Mifflintown have many weathered tombstones on which characteristic Amish first names and surnames can be distinguished. Joseph W. Yoder has given an interesting picture

15 J. K. Hartzler, "Fifty Years in the Amish Mennonite Churches of Pennsylvania," *Herald of Truth* (Elkhart, June 1, 1902), 39:163; Celeste Keener, "Report of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Mattawana Church," *Gospel Herald* (Scottdale, January 27, 1948), 41:83; personal information obtained in November, 1954, from Ammon Kaufman, a descendant of Amish members of the early McVeytown congregation. Mr. Kaufman died in January, 1955. His extensive notes, diaries, and photographs should be safely preserved in a Mennonite library.

16 *Mennonite Yearbook* (1954), 87; Mook, *'S Deitsch Eck*, June 26, 1954, and *MHB*, 16:1, 3.

17 Hartzler, 163-64. This Mennonite historian, himself of Amish derivation and a long-time resident of the upper Juniata Valley, reports that "The Lost Creek brethren went principally to Nebraska where they started a church." Hostetler states that the Gosper County, Nebraska, Amish community was settled by families coming from both Mifflin and Juniata counties in Pennsylvania (*MHB*, 10:1-2). The Nebraska group began in 1880, which may thus approximately date the end of the Lost Creek Valley community.

of Amish life in Lost Creek Valley during the later years of the communities existence.[18] It was the Lost Creek Valley community to which Rosanna and her mother moved from Halfmoon Valley in Centre County, and from which she and her parents later moved to Big Valley in Mifflin County.

Another Amish community that also failed in the late nineteenth century was the Buffalo Valley congregation, located in Union County a few miles east of Mifflinburg and west of Lewisburg. This congregation-community began in the 1830's and survived for some five decades, becoming extinct in the 1880's. Of all former but now extinct communities in the history of Amish settlement in the United States, this is the best documented one in the literature of Mennonitism. Its church history, as well as the life and customs of its inhabitants, have been discussed in detail by Professor John Umble of Goshen College. Professor Umble's parents were members of this community.[19]

Some sixty miles west of the Union County group and a half century earlier in time there existed during approximately the first forty years of the last century a small Amish community in Halfmoon Valley, twelve miles northwest of State College in Centre County. The Amish farms were near the present village of Stormstown. A small Amish cemetery (on the farm of Mr. Clarence Beck, R.F.D., Warriors Mark, Pa.) survives as evidence of the former community's existence. On Mr. Beck's farm there is also an old house which is said to have removable partitions between the rooms. It is reasonable to assume that it was occupied, and possibly built, by an Amish family, for this was an Amish practice by which the downstairs rooms of a house were connected with each other to facilitate worship services in the home.[20] Dr. John A. Hostetler, himself of Amish derivation, has found well-known Amish surnames in the Centre County Courthouse records at Bellefonte which pertain to this group and which extend from 1804 to 1840.[21] These dates of

18 *Rosanna of the Amish* (Huntingdon, 1940), 23-78. This interesting, accurate, and sympathetic account of old-time Amish life is based upon the author's life as a boy and young man in the Big Valley Amish community. He is the son of Rosanna, the central figure of this life-historical ethnography. See also the same author's *Rosanna's Boys* (Huntingdon, 1948).

19 *MQR* (April and July, 1933), 7:71-96 and 162-90.

20 I have seen the Amish cemetery, but in several visits to Halfmoon Valley I have never been able to see the interior of the house reported by residents of the valley to have the removable partitions. For description of the interior of a typical Lancaster County Amish home with wide folding doors, lack of closets, etc., to provide downstairs space for worship services in the home, see Bachman, 71-78, "Amish Homes." Hostetler offers a diagram of the "First Floor of a Typical (Mifflin County) Amish House" and describes the "average house" with its furnishings in Big Valley (1951 thesis, 63-65, Figure 8, p. 64). He also provides an unusual series of full-page photographs of Big Valley Amish homesteads (Figures 4-12, between pages 55 and 84. He observes that "the first floor of a typical Amish house has double doors and removable partition between larger rooms, so that worship service can be entertained." He also advises me that whereas removable partitions are common among the Amish of the eastern states, they are less so in the Middle West.

21 "Amish in Centre County," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* (Lancaster, March, 1950), 6.

deeds, sales of property, etc., probably approximately limit the period of Amish occupancy of Halfmoon Valley. Rosanna of *Rosanna of the Amish* was born in this valley, from which she migrated with her foster mother to Lost Creek Valley toward the middle years of the past century. This family was among the last to abandon the unsuccessful settlement.

In still another area of the state, memory of two other now-extinct Amish communities has been brought to light by recent field work among surviving Amish and non-Amish residents of the region. During the depression years of the 1930's an Old Order Amish community of from 20 to perhaps 30 or even 40 families was located near Spartansburg in northeastern Crawford County. The community began in the early 1930's by families migrating from Ohio, and it ended in the late 1930's by most families returning to their areas of origin. This community, according to present non-Amish residents of the area (visited by the writer in the summer of 1951), expired largely as a victim of the depression. It is quite clear that certain personality conflicts among its residents also contributed to its failure as a functioning group.[22]

There was also during the same decade a short-lived small Amish community of five families and one adult, consisting of 24 persons in all, only 12 of whom were adult members of the church, located at Bear Lake in northwestern Warren County. All but one of the members of this community were relatives, which illustrates the kinship principle that has been so important as a factor in the genesis and growth of new Amish communities in the United States. A bishop (interviewed by the writer in Mercer County in 1952) led this group, which was a worshiping congregation for only ten of the fifteen months of its existence. The small group was troubled by physical illness, as well as lonesomeness and homesickness, and after two winters and an intervening summer they abandoned their farms and returned to Ohio from which they had come in the first place. In addition to the psychological factors, inability to market crops and to pay for their farms during and due to the depression caused the failure of this venture. It is certainly one of the smallest and most temporary colonies in the 250 years of Amish settlement in America.[23]

22 M. A. Mook, " 'Crawford County Number Two'; A Now Extinct Old Order Amish Community of the 1930's," *Western Penna. Hist. Mag.* (March, 1954), 37:33-45. When this article was written, several months prior to its publication, I suspected, but could not be sure, that personality factors had made for conflicts in this community. Accordingly the article emphasized economic factors as the cause of community failure. Since its publication, however, interviews with former Amish residents at Spartansburg, now residing in Ohio, have made it clear that internal conflicts also contributed to community failure.

23 The Bear Lake colony has been discussed as a case study in Amish community failure in "Crawford County No. 3," *MHB* (July, 1953), 14:6-8.

The final instance of failure successfully to maintain Amish congregational community life known to the writer is a small group that began several years ago and exists only as a non-congregational remnant at the present time. In August, 1949, a group of three families, two of whose heads were Old Order Amish church officials in the Enon Valley congregation in Lawrence County, moved to Brush Valley in Centre County, several miles northeast of Centre Hall. The colony never thrived and was joined by less than half-dozen other families. The deacon died and the preacher returned to Enon Valley; several other families also removed. In November, 1954, three families remained, occupying four small farms on the edge of the valley overhung by Brush Mountain. As a community it now exists as a thin shadow of the small group it once was; as a congregation it became extinct with the loss of its two church officials who have never been replaced.[24]

All recent attempts of the Amish to start new communities have not failed, however. Contrary to the experience of the recent Centre County group, two other Amish communities started in the state within the past five years, are growing and seem to be firmly established, at least prospectively, as functioning groups. These are the Amish community in Snyder County, four miles west of Selingsgrove, and a new group which recently located in Juniata County, near Mifflintown—in the very area where the nineteenth-century Lost Creek Valley community met defeat some 60 to 70 years ago.

Three of the ten Amish communities now in existence in Pennsylvania (those in Lancaster, Somerset, and Mifflin counties) have had a continuous history from the eighteenth century. These three are the largest and most solidly established Amish communities in the Commonwealth at the present time. Two more were established in the nineteenth century (New Wilmington and Enon Valley, both in Lawrence County), one of which has been a steadily growing group. The remaining five have come into existence since 1924.[25] Seven of the ten have been established since 1800, which would contradict the assertion found in a recent article that "After 1800 few new (Amish) communities were established in Pennsylvania."[26] Seven may not be more than "few," but it is more than half of the total surviving group.

24 In a future issue of *'S Deitsch Eck* the Amish venture in Brush Valley will be reported in more detail by the present writer in "Two Amish Communities in Centre County, Pennsylvania."

25 The history of one of these is reviewed in "The Amish Community at Atlantic, Pennsylvania," *MQR* (October, 1954), 28:293-301. The Mercer County Amish community at Jackson Center, Pa., was begun in 1942 by the emigration of more than a dozen families from the Atlantic group (*Ibid.*, 298-300).

26 *MHB* (April, 1948), 9:2.

It is thus seen that there are more extinct Amish communities in the history of the state than there are successfully surviving ones. The majority of the unsuccessful communities were small ones which lasted less than half a century. We observe that in Amish community life the larger the group is and the longer it lasts, the stronger and less susceptible to failure it comes to be. Size and age of the community present themselves as a kind of insurance against Amish community decline and death. In Pennsylvania, at least, if an Amish community can survive its first half-century, it seems to develop a degree of immunity to failure. However, insurance is not assurance, of course, that a community may not ultimately fail.

In spite of the fifteen failures[27] of the Amish successfully to colonize in Pennsylvania, one should resist entertaining the impression that the Amish type of sectarian Pennsylvania German culture is marked by debility and carries the germs of its own decay and death. It has been recently stated that there are now more Amish communities, more Amish churches, and more individual members of Amish churches and communities than ever before in the history of the sect in this state.[28] The same is true of all other states in which the Amish are represented in appreciable numbers.[29] The Old Order Amish way of life is changing, and undoubtedly with increasing rapidity. But their numbers are also steadily increasing, and there are currently certainly no signs of decrease in the rate of increase of the group.

27 These fifteen, in the order of their earlier mention in this article, are: Northkill, Oley, Tulpehocken, Maiden Creek, Malvern, the Glades, Conemaugh, McVeytown, Lost Creek Valley, Tuscarora Valley, Buffalo Valley, Halfmoon Vally, Spartansburg, Bear Lake, and Brush Valley.

28 "Defense of the Dutch—the Amish Dutch," *'S Deitsch Eck*, May 15, 1954; *The Budget*, Sugarcreek, Ohio, July 1, 1954, p. 1; *MQR* (October, 1954), 28:296.

29 Although as yet unpublished, I have recently tabulated all Old Order Amish church membership data recorded in the *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory* (Scottdale, annually since 1913), and reclassified them by geographic communities for the nineteen states now inhabited by Amish people. These tabulations support the foregoing assertion in the text.

Although the *Yearbooks* under their present editorship are more complete and accurate than ever before in the history of the publication of this invaluable compendium, it is important to note that the census of Old Order church membership undoubtedly errs on the side of under enumeration. This fact, which is well known and an ever-present source of difficulty to the editor of the *Yearbook*, is due to the disinclination of many Old Order ministers to cooperate with a voluntary membership enumeration of any kind. For further comment upon this point, with a suggested corrective factor, see *MHB* (January, 1955), 16:3.

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE COLLEGES, 1954-55

SILAS HERTZLER

As in other recent years, the Mennonite colleges and professional schools reporting for this statistical summary for 1954-55 remain at sixteen. The names and complete addresses of these schools are as follows:

Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 4614 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 South Tenth Street, Omaha 8, Nebraska
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Bethel College, 1000 North McKinley Avenue, Mishawaka, Indiana
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin, Winnipeg, Man.
Pacific Bible Institute, 2149 Tuolumne Street, Fresno 21, California
Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 515 Wellington Crescent, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Bethel Deaconess Hospital School of Nursing, Newton, Kansas
Bloomington Mennonite School of Nursing, Bloomington, Illinois
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing, La Junta, Colorado

Comparisons between the reports on attendance for 1953-54 and for 1954-55 can be made by examining Table I in each of the two annual summaries. As reported herewith the total attendance in the sixteen schools increased in this one year from 3,718 to 3,911. Of the degree-granting schools seven reported increases in enrollment, while each of five reported a slight decrease. The largest changes were at Eastern Mennonite College with an increase of 143, and at Goshen College with an increase of 102

Table II gives exact details by classes. The increase of 193 students shows in the freshman and sophomore years, as well as in the unclassified and summer groups. The number of graduate students was identical for the two years. A slight decrease was evident in the junior class and in the senior class.

Table III was modified over the previous year in that non-Mennonite students were tabulated in the same summary. This makes it possible to include all students in Tables I, II, and III.

For all colleges, the total number of Mennonite students was 2,977, as compared with 2,711 in 1953-54, or an increase of 266. The proportion of Mennonite students for 1954-55 stood at 76.37 per cent as compared with 72.92 per cent for 1953-54, and 74.22 per cent for 1952-53. Summer attendance increased from 569 in 1953 to 762 in 1954. This was in part due to including summer attendance of nurs-

ing schools at La Junta and at Bethel Deaconess Hospital. One additional school reported a summer session.

Table V reflects the same slight increase in number of diplomas and degrees as is shown in the other tables, in total attendance. The number of graduate degrees shows little change. There were seventeen B.D. degrees and two M.R.E. degrees granted. The Th.B. still is a hybrid degree in that it represents the completion of one or two years of graduate professional work in Bible and theology in some schools, and merely a four year undergraduate degree in others. The liberal arts B.A. continues to be the most popular degree. The professional B.S. in Nursing was granted to six more nurses than in the previous year, and was conferred by three colleges. However, only in Goshen College does this degree represent a fully integrated professional collegiate program in nursing. In two of the three schools granting this degree, graduation represents liberal arts work added to a diploma training school course previously completed. Twenty-three different undergraduate Bachelor's degrees were conferred upon 434 students by the eleven colleges and the Mennonite Biblical Seminary.

TABLE I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Colleges, 1954-55

School	Graduate Students	College	Special Students	Total Enrollment	Men	Women	Detailed Information Not Given
M.B.S.	34	1		35	32	3	
Goshen	54	963[1]	10[2]	1027	466	561	
Bethel, Kan.		545	46[3]	591	294	297	
E.M.C.	10	361	27[5]	398	186	212	
Bluffton		277	55[3]	332	174	158	
Grace		325		325[4]	158	167	
Tabor	6	288	7[3]	301	149	152	
Bethel, Ind.		220	18[6]	238	134	104	
Hesston		134		134	55	79	
M.B.B.C.		118		118	118		
Pacific	1	85		86	52	34	
Canadian		81		81			81
Freeman		70		70	27	43	
Bethel Deaconess		63		63		63	
Bloomington		61		61		61	
La Junta		51		51		51	
Totals	105	3643	163	3911[7]	1845	1985	81

[1] 24 correspondence students of college grade.
[2] Correspondence students not of college grade.
[3] Music and art students.
[4] 35 part-time students not counted in this total.
[5] 20 correspondence students of college grade; 7 adult education students not of college grade.
[6] Bible school, not of college grade.
[7] College students not included in this total were reported as follows: Mennonite Educational Institute, 38; Steinbach Bible Institute, 5; Alberta Mennonite High School, 9.

TABLE II

Enrollment by Classes, 1954-55

School	Graduate Students	Seniors	Juniors	Soph.	Freshmen	Special	Summer	High Sch. Level	Other Depart.	Total
M.B.S.	34		1							35
Goshen	54[1]	108	128	155	190	231	127[2]	10[3]	24[3]	1027
Bethel, Kans.		58	76	98	176	27	45	46[5]	65[4]	591
E.M.C.	10	53	33	64	136	26	24	7[6]	45[7]	398
Bluffton		36	35	67	93	11	35	55[5]		332
Grace		19	56	77	129	44				325
Tabor	6	29	31	59	116	28	25	7[5]		301
Bethel, Ind.		22	32	45	99	13	9	18[8]		238
Hesston		2	6	35	75	1			15[4]	134
M.B.B.C.			26	32	46	14				118
Pacific	1	13	9	22	34	7				86
Canadian									81[9]	81
Freeman				11	30	4	25			70
Bethel Deaconess			17	21	25					63
Bloomington			23	18	20					61
La Junta			19	14	18					51
Totals	105	340	492	718	1187	406	290	143	230	3911

[1] 49 seminary students; 5 liberal arts graduate students.
[2] 117 summer students; 10 spring term.
[3] Correspondence students.
[4] Extension students.
[5] Music and art students, not of college grade.
[6] Adult education.
[7] 25 extension students; 20 correspondence students.
[8] Bible school, not of college grade.
[9] Details not given.

TABLE III

Students by Denominations, 1954-55

School	Mennonites			Non-Mennonites			Grand Total
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Goshen	361	397	758[1]	106	163	269	1027
Bethel, Kans.	226	246	472[2]	68	51	119	591
E.M.C.	179	205	384	7	7	14	398
Tabor	136	140	276	13	12	25	301
Grace	100	115	215	58	52	110	325
Bethel, Ind.	103	63	166	31	41	72	238
Hesston	55	77	132[3]		2	2	134
Bluffton	65	53	118	99	60	214[4]	332[4]
M.B.B.C.	117		117	1		1	118
Canadian			80[5]			1[5]	81[5]
Pacific	38	28	66	14	6	20	86
Bethel Deaconess		56	56		7	7	63
La Junta		47	47		4	4	51
Freeman	19	22	41	8	21	29	70
M.B.S.	30	3	33	2		2	35
Bloomington		16	16		45	45	61
Totals	1429	1468	2977[6] 2897[7]	407	471	934[6] 878[7]	3911

[1] Goshen College Bulletin, March, 1955, p. 181.
[2] Colleges tabulated in the order of size of Mennonite enrollment.
[3] 15 Mennonite students in evening classes, not of college grade.
[4] Details not available for 55 part-time students.
[5] Details concerning the number of men and women not given.
[6] Vertical total.
[7] Horizontal total.

TABLE IV

Students in Summer Session, 1954

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	78	221	299
Bluffton	16	50	66
Bethel, Kans.	16	47	63
Bloomington		61	61
Tabor	26	32	58
Bethel Deaconess		55	55
E.M.C.	14	39	53
La Junta		51	51
Bethel, Ind.	15	16	31
Freeman	2	23	25
Totals	167	595	762

TABLE V

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, 1955

	M.B.S.	Goshen	Bethel, Kan.	E.M.C.	Bluffton	Tabor	Bethel, Ind.	Grace	M.B.B.C.	Pacific	Hesston	Canadian	Bloomington	Bethel Deaconess	La Junta	Freeman	Totals
B.D.	11	5				1											17
M.R.E.	2																2
Th.B.		8		2		3			5	3							21
B.A.		81	32	7	18	29	24										191
B.S. in Ed.		64			9												73
B.A. in Bible				12				22									34
B.S. in Nursing		20	5	5													30
B.R.E.				2					9		4						15
B.S.				4	11												15
B.A. Miss. Anth.										8							8
B. of Chr. Educ.												7					7
B.S. in Business			4		3												7
B.S. in Elem. Ed.			2	5													7
B.S. in Biology			5	1													6
B.S. in Ho.Ec.			3	2	1												6
B.A. in Chr. Ed.					1					1							2
B.A. in El. Ed.				2													2
B.S. in Ind. Arts			2														2
B.S. in Sec. Ed.				2													2
B. Mus. Educ.					1												1
B.A. in Sec. Ed.				1													1
B.S. in Chemistry			1														1
B.S. Nat. Science			1														1
B.S. Phys. Ed.			1														1
B.S.L.	1																1
Bible 4 yr.							1										1
Nursing Diploma													28	16	14		58
Bible 3 yr.								4	1	5							10
A.A.		10	3			4				1	30					8	56
A.A. in Bible		2									5						7
Junior College				5													5
Junior Col. Bibl.				2													2
Chr. Ed.								15				5					20
Missions Diploma								11									11
Music Diploma								9									9
Chr. Workers		1		3													4
Am. Studies			3													1	4
Bible 2 yr.							1			2							3
2 yr. Normal																3	3
Secretarial 2 yr.																1	1
Secretarial 1 yr.		10														1	11
1 yr. Normal																12	12
Totals	14	201	62	55	44	37	26	61	15	20	39	12	28	16	14	26	670

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RESEARCH NOTE

AN EXAMPLE OF THE SPIRIT OF EARLY ANABAPTISM

Robert Friedmann

The following letter, coming from the beginning of the great Anabaptist movement (1535) and apparently stemming from "Swiss" Brethren in Württemberg, may well serve as a small yet impressive illustration of the frame of mind of the rank and file of the brotherhood. In a sense this letter is a unique testimony: two brethren who had managed to escape from prison now notify the authorities how they did it and who had helped hem. In addition they assure the authorities of having no grudge against them, rather of praying for them lest they fall into more guilt before the divine Judge. It is the "spirit of Anabaptism" that the Brethren desire nothing but "peace and unity with everyone" [of good will]. Among the many hundreds of Anabaptist letters, this one stands out in its frankness; we know of no other letters addressed in this way to the persecuting authorities. In fact, whenever an imprisoned Anabaptist brother was able to escape, he usually hurried away as quickly as he could without further communication with his persecutors. In this case, however, the two were perhaps worried that innocent ones might be persecuted because of their escape. In any case, here we may learn very graphically what inner rebirth will do to men, plain people to be sure: to make them sensitive and change their "hearts into hearts of flesh" (Ezekiel 36:26).

Letter of two Anabaptist Brethren, Hans Schmid and Wolf Kirsner, to the Authorities of Güglingen, Württemberg, December 13, 1535[1]

With this letter we, Hans Schmid and Wolf Kirsner, want to address ourselves to the bailiff *(Vogt)* and the entire council of Güglingen, whose prisoners we have been as witnesses for Jesus Christ but now have become free again by ways and means sent to us by God out of His grace, for which we give Him thanks.

How our freedom was achieved we do not want to hide from you so that you would not suspect and unjustly accuse other people, by this becoming guilty not only before men but also before God to whom everyone has to give account for what he has done, be it good or bad. [II Cor. 5:10; Matth. 12:36.] Therefore we want to notify you that it was performed by our brethren only. Enderis Schmidt of Ersingen [near Pforzheim], one of our brothers in the faith, broke the crossbar of the window, and thus endangered himself for our sake. We beg you therefore that you may not prosecute others for that deed, for no one else was involved in it.

Furthermore, we want to inform you regarding the faith which we have publicly confessed, that we desire to stay in it to the end with the help of Christ. We do not intend to avenge ourselves against anybody for the prison and all the evil that was done to us for the sake of the Truth. Rather we forgive you and everybody from our heart, and you may rest assured that we will not take any revenge. For we pray to God the Lord for you and all the authorities, princes and lords, that He may give them knowledge of His divine will, and also understanding of what we Brethren truly desire, namely, nothing but peace and unity with everyone. At all times we desire to strive after godliness that everyone may save his soul from the future wrath of God at the time when God will revenge the blood of the innocent and all the violence done against true Christian to make them abandon their faith.

You people, however, watch, lest you become guilty of what you do to the souls of the God-fearing ones. Remember the many terrible examples of ancient peoples who plagued the children of God and would not allow them to sacrifice to their God, as it happened to Pharao and others. May God prevent you from soiling your hands and doing violence to the blood of innocent ones, which God will punish dearly, as is written in the last chapter of Joel [Joel 3:19].

Hans Schmid

1 G. Bossert, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer: I. Herzogtum Württemberg* (Leipzig, 1930), 995.

The Complete Writings of Menno Simons (c. 1496-1561). Translated from the Dutch by Leonard Verduin and edited by John Christian Wenger, with a biography by Harold S. Bender. Scottdale, Pa.; Herald Press, 1956. Illustrated. Pp. 1092. $8.75.

This is the second English edition of the complete writings of Menno Simons. The more or less complete Dutch editions of the writings appeared in 1600-1, 1646, and 1681. Since that time, no Dutch edition has been published. The first German edition of the writings of Menno Simons appeared in 1876-81, published by John F. Funk, Elkhart, Indiana. A reprint was made by J. A. Raber, Baltic, Ohio, in 1926. The first English edition, based on the Dutch *Opera Omnia* of 1681, appeared in 1871, published by John F. Funk, Elkhart, Indiana. The Scottdale edition of 1956 is the second English, and the most complete edition ever published.

The 1871 edition was entitled *The Complete Works of Menno Simon.* Part I was a revision of the English edition of some of Menno's writings translated from German into English by I. Daniel Rupp, published by John Herr, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1835. Part II was translated from the Dutch by Piebe Swart. The 1871 English edition contained every item in the Dutch *Opera Omnia* (1681) except a letter by Menno of 1556 and some parts pertaining to the incarnation. The 1871 edition has been exhausted for some time. It was therefore a very significant undertaking for the Herald Press to publish the writings of Menno Simons in a contemporary English version based on the original Dutch editions of 1646 and 1681. Leonard Verduin of Ann Arbor, Michigan, of Dutch background, was secured for the gigantic task of retranslating the writings of Menno. Meanwhile, additional writings of Menno Simons had been discovered by Dutch scholars such as Karel Vos. A look into the present edition immediately reveals that Verduin made full use of Vos's scholarship, found in his biography, *Menno Simons (1496-1561): Zijn leven en werken en zijne reformatorische denkbeelden* (Leiden, 1914). To locate the additional writings was comparatively simple because Vos had reprinted most of those that had not appeared previously in the collected writings of Menno Simons (see Vos, 272 ff.).

After the translator had completed his task the translation was edited by Beulah Stauffer Hostetler, book editor of the Mennonite Publishing House. After this, J. C. Wenger edited the manuscript and wrote an introduction for each of the writings of Menno and added footnotes. He also prepared the index. Harold S. Bender revised his biography of Menno Simons (1936), which precedes the writings of Menno in this volume.

A helpful table for the "Location of Menno's Writings in Various Editions" precedes the table of contents. This makes it possible to locate any of the writings in the preceding editions without too much search. In the table of contents, we find the abbreviated English titles of the writings of Menno chronologically arranged with the dates of their origin or publication. The chronology of John Horsch was followed with few deviations (*Menno Simons,* Scottdale, Pa., 1916, p. 300). Naturally in many cases these dates are only estimates. Among the eight illustrations we find a reproduction of the Arend Hendriks portrait of Menno Simons, some title pages of early Mennonite writings, and a reproduction of the only letter in the handwriting of Menno Simons.

The purpose of this review is to point out the great value and the

positive accomplishments in reproducing the complete writings of Menno Simons, and simultaneously to call attention to some weaknesses and improvements which could be made for a second edition which it is to be hoped will be necessary soon.

The Menno biography by H. S. Bender, preceding the writings, is concise in form (26 pages), and presents the main facts based on the latest scholarship along these lines. Only minor questions could be raised such as the justification of the statement "quite early the parents of Menno Simons decided to consecrate their son to the service of the church" (p. 4). The reviewer can find no foundation for this statement in view of the fact that Menno was consecrated to become a priest at the age of 28. His training was certainly not such as to fill the time from an early age until that date. Again the statement that Menno spent "seven years of labor in the Netherlands" (pp. 16, 18) immediately after his withdrawal from the Catholic Church in 1536 is not quite accurate. Recent research indicates that Menno most likely spent most of this time in the neighboring provinces of East Friesland, although he spent some time in Groningen and visited other Dutch provinces occasionally. No sources state that "Menno fled with his sick wife and small children" (p. 21) from the Rhineland to Holstein. It is entirely possible that Menno's family did not accompany him while he was working in the Rhineland. The following mistakes are possibly typographical errors. The *Reply to Gellius Faber* was not written in 1552 but in 1554 (p. 24). The arrival of the Reformed refugees from London to Wismar took place on December 21, 1553, not 1533 (p. 28).

The volume of 1,092 pages is not as bulky as might be expected. The quality of the paper, print, and binding of the book are excellent. The index at the end is very helpful in locating information on various topics and individuals, etc. In general, we can say that the *Complete Writings* answer the demand of our day by making the writings of a Mennonite leader available in a modern form which will have appeal to a generation which is offered much reading material and has little leisure or inclination to make full use of all the possibilities along these lines. The publishers must be congratulated on their achievement of making this modern edition available. It is particularly worth noting that they were not satisfied with a mere reprinting of the previous edition, which would, as far as expense and time were concerned, have been the simplest to do. They have invested heavily in producing an improved or new translation of the writings, providing it with the necessary apparatus for the interested layman. We should also state that the inclusion of the writings of Menno which had previously been overlooked is of great significance. The following is a list of what has been added, consisting of 34 pages:

(1) Meditations and Prayers for Mealtime	p. 953
(2) Sharp Reply to David Joris	1019
(3) Earnest Epistles to the Davidians	1027
(4) Exhortation to a Church in Prussia	1030
(5) Wismar Articles of 1554	1041
(6) Encouragement to Christian Believers	1046
(7) Final Instruction on Marital Avoidance	1060
(8) Extract from Letter in Menno's Handwriting	1064
(9) Hymn of Discipleship	1065
(10) Prayer in the Hour of Affliction	1068
(11) Epilogue to Meditation on Psalm 25	85

There is no other edition either in German or in Dutch which is as complete as this one. One is almost inclined to say that this is the first or only

complete edition of the writings of Menno. However, this must be said with some reservation. There are particularly two points which must be mentioned in this connection.

The first fact to which we would like to call attention is that the number of Scripture references found in the previous editions has been reduced considerably without any explanatory note or reasons given for doing so. The reason for this is likely the fact that the legibility of the text is considerably improved by the omission of the "obstacles" in the text. If this is the reason, it is worthy of consideration. On the other hand, the reader is now in many instances deprived of the possibility of identifying the Scripture references. In addition to this, the modern reader who is probably not as thoroughly familiar with the contents of the Bible as the sixteenth-century reader was, is apt to overlook the fact that Menno's language is a "Bible" language. In his own words he constantly paraphrases quotations from the Old and New Testament. Menno's complete reliance on Bible content and on the language of the Bible become less conspicious now that many references have been omitted.

Another condition which keeps this edition from being fully complete is the fact that parts of the *Foundation Book* of 1539 which Menno eliminated in later editions were not included. These omitted parts were reprinted by Vos (p. 273 ff.) and others. References to this fact have been made by all biographers of Menno. It would have been definitely helpful and of interest to those dealing with Menno's early development to be able to find these passages in this edition of the *Complete Writings of Menno Simons.* Menno refers in these passages to the Münsterites, calling them "our dear Brethren who formerly have done a little wrong against the Lord because they wanted to defend their faith with carnal weapons ...." In his introduction to the revised edition of the *Foundation Book,* Menno states: "Here and there I made additions, explained what was vague, corrected what was spoiled, and omitted what was not needed" (*Complete Writings,* 1956, p. 105). These omitted portions could have been included in order to make this edition complete. Since Menno revised some of his other writings in second editions, consistency would have required the same treatment of other parts. As it is Menno's writings have been presented in the final form in which he left them.

Regarding the version and the translation of this edition, we must say that the title page states "translated from the Dutch by Leonard Verduin" and in the preface the editor says that the translator relied on the 1646 and the 1681 Dutch editions of Menno's *Opera.* By comparing the 1871 English and the present new edition, one is struck by the great improvement which has been made. The English is clear; some long sentences have been broken up into a number of sentences in order to make the text more legible. However, it must be said that at places some of the long sentences are still to be found. It is always good to take into consideration previous translations and it is only natural that this was also done in this case. There are plenty of evidences that this new edition comes closer to the original. At times, one is struck by the great similarity of the two versions. Would it probably be more appropriate to call this new edition "a new revised version" rather than an entirely new translation? This, of course, is a matter of terminology and no criticism of the version as such.

The introductions to the various writings of Menno Simons furnished by J. C. Wenger are very helpful aids for the layman. They are to the point and as a rule based on extensive research. Usually they contain a brief statement about the content of the writing, the occasion which

caused the writing, and some information about editions and versions of the writings. Since the title above the text of each writing is abbreviated, the editor gives the complete title in the introduction, stating where the writing can be found in the *Opera* of 1681 and the *Complete Works* of 1871. The original Dutch title is never given.

About the language in which Menno wrote his writings the following must be said. Menno withdrew from the Catholic Church in the province of Friesland in which the common daily language was Frisian and the literary language was Dutch. When Menno spoke with his parishioners in daily intercourse he used his native Frisian language. When he preached or wrote, it was the literary Dutch language of the Low Countries. These two languages are basically different. Unlike his colleagues, Menno hardly ever used Latin in writing. After he had left his parsonage in Friesland and had written his books in the province of Groningen and possibly in East Friesland (Germany) his literary Dutch gradually adjusted itself to the language of the country in which he lived. The rural area surrounding the city of Groningen was known as Ommelanden. It was here that Menno Simons lived immediately after his withdrawal and wrote some of his first writings. Vos calls this vernacular *Oosters gekleurd* (colored by eastern influences). Later when Menno resided in the German province of Holstein, his language was modified under new influences which are characterized by Vos as *Oosters* (eastern). These designations indicate that Menno's Dutch language had undergone considerable modification under the influence of the local background of his new residences. Later these writings with their *Oosters* or *Oosters gekleurd* peculiarities were translated into literary Dutch for the readers in the Netherlands. When the editor refers to this fact, he is not always entirely clear. On page 104 he states in the introduction, speaking of the *Foundation Book,* that the "first and second editions were in the Eastern dialect of the Baltic coastal regions." With Vos we would say that these editions were colored by the linguistic peculiarities of the land in which the book was written, which was more accurately the rural region of Groningen and the North Sea. The Baltic coastal regions are farther east. This designation would apply to the later writings of Menno while he was at Wismar, Lübeck, and Wüstenfelde near Oldesloe just west of the Baltic coast. (See pages 500, 524, 534).

Regarding Menno's peculiar teaching about the incarnation of Christ, the editor makes some helpful and objective comments. That these views were "not accepted by the Swiss Brethren ever" (pp. 420, 784) is probably a little too strong. That some of the South German Mennonites adhered to these views has been demonstrated in the article "Incarnation of Christ" (*Mennonite Encyclopedia,* II). In connection with Menno's *Reply to Martin Micron,* which also deals with this question, reference could be made to a very significant gold kernel. On a few pages (pp. 842-44), Menno related how his followers received the persecuted Reformed brethren, helped them to find shelter and work, raised a collection for them, and how they showed their brotherly compassion toward them. Not much gratitude was shown by the Reformed brethren. This account buried in controversy is one of those illustrations of fiery coals heaped on the heads of opponents (pp. 842-44).

On page 1,030, the title *Exhortation to Church in Prussia* is given. The actual title is *To the Elect Children of God in the Land of Prussia.* This title, the way it is found in the various reprints, also indicates that the letter is not necessarily addressed to one particular congregation as assumed by Vos (p. 290) and repeated by Wenger. It is entirely in place

to include the "Wismar Articles" in the writings of Menno Simons since he no doubt had a very active part in their formulation. However, we have no evidence that they are entirely his work.

As stated before, the introductions of the editor are very helpful, particularly to laymen. In some instances a few references to the sources from which the information was obtained would have been in place in order to help the interested laymen who would like to study some of the questions in greater detail. A comprehensive index of over 1,000 items is a very helpful aid for the average reader. The scholar who investigates various phases of Menno's writings will have to do some solid reading in addition to making use of the index.

Now that we have this excellent edition of the *Complete Writings of Menno Simons* in the English language, the only one available at the present, the next task for Mennonite scholarship and publishing enterprises would be to think in terms of preparing a scholarly edition of the original Dutch writings of Menno Simons. This should be a joint undertaking similar to that of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* or the *Täuferakten* publications. It would take skilled scholars similar to Samuel Cramer, the editor of the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neezlandicia* in which the writings of Dirk Philipsz and *Het Offer des Heeren* (*Martyr's Mirror*) in scholarly editions with commentaries and footnotes appeared. The preparation of such an edition as well as its publication would have to be a joint enterprise of Dutch and American scholars. Such a scholarly edition would contain the original *Foundation Book,* making ample provision for the various versions of it with exhaustive introductions, commentaries, and footnotes. This would probably be one volume while the second volume might contain the other writings of Menno Simons which would not need as much explanatory information and repetition of various versions. The task of preparing and publishing such an edition of Menno Simon's writings has been overdue, since the publication of the *BRN* was discontinued after its tenth volume appeared. The publishers who have undertaken the gigantic enterprise of publishing the *Complete Works of Menno Simons,* and the *Martyr's Mirror* in succession have demonstrated that big volumes of the sixteenth century can be reproduced and sold in the twentieth century. It is hoped that these publications with a primary devotional purpose will be followed by a scholarly edition of the writings of the most significant sixteenth-century Mennonite leader to enable the American scholars to interpret the sixteenth-century Anabaptist heritage and vision more accurately for a twentieth-century challenge.

Bethel College CORNELIUS KRAHN

In Search of Utopia. By E. K. Francis. Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen and Sons, Ltd. (U.S. publisher, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois), 1955. Pp. xv, 294, $6.00.

Various reasons can be suggested for the paucity of literature about the Canadian Mennonites, but the unhappy fact remains that anyone seeking to study this group of Canada's citizens is handicapped by the lack of interpretations from within the group itself. Besides the fragmentary work of Paul Schaefer and some imported talent, there is practically nothing. This is even more true when one limits the field to the English language and to Manitoba. E. K. Francis, now a professor of sociology at the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, fills a substantial part of this gap by his sociological analysis of the Manitoba Mennonites. C. A.

Dawson, a sociologist from McGill University, with a group of students had made a study of group settlements in Western Canada shortly after the depression, but this study was not limited to the Mennonites, nor is Professor Francis sure that Dawson was accurate in his analyses.

Dr. Francis is eminently qualified for his task, because of his proficiency in his own field, and also by virtue of the fact that he taught at the University of Manitoba and observed at close hand the life of the Manitoba Mennonites. The study was made possible by a government grant for research in the history of Manitoba's ethnic groups. The foreword promises the publication of an even more complete edition in microfilm form, making available the full and unabridged results of Dr. Francis' research. The publication of the present work is to be greeted with profound gratitude, not only by people interested in and devoted to the Mennonite Church, but by those whose only acquaintance with it comes through sociological studies such as this.

Professor Francis first introduces the reader to the beginnings of the Mennonites as a *religious movement* and in twenty succinct pages describes their transformation into an *ethnic group*. In the compass of these pages we are given the origins of the Mennonites, the historical reason and description of their trek to Prussia and Russia, and then a brief discussion of their "Commonwealth in Russia." This chapter ends with the dolorous conclusion: "In the period between 1790 and 1870 the Mennonite sectarians in Russia had become a people whose conspicuous secular successes were bought at the price of institutionalization of religion and secularization of the inner life of the group" (p. 27).

Still in a sense introductory to the main body of the book, Chapter II deals with the reasons for the migration from Russia to Canada, the negotiations and the specific agreements made with the Dominion government. For those who have always thought the trek was made primarily for religious purposes Francis adduces some evidence which leads him to conclude: "Among all the motives mentioned, the lure of the 'golden mountains' awaiting them in the New World was undoubtedly the most powerful and decisive" (p. 36). On the other hand, the Mennonites were not to be duped into making the migration. They had once been deceived by the Russian government, and the reluctance born of this experience forms the background of the negotiations with the Canadian government. Dr. Francis shows how the germ of the subsequent school conflict was present in the negotiations with the Mennonite delegates in what the Mennonites have always considered the privileges.

Chapter III, entitled "The Pioneers," deals with the migration, with the way it was financed, and with the beginnings of the Mennonite "Reserves" and the patterns established in their new life. The importance of the movement from the East to the West Reserve is noted. The last part deals with the intriguing subject of the relations of the Mennonites to the larger society. Dr. Francis shows the uniqueness of the pioneer development in Manitoba and in what important respects it differs from that of Ontario. In Manitoba "the old and new societies were integrated into a dualistic system in which the original socio-economic dividing lines were modified according to distinctions expressed more and more exclusively in terms of language and religion" (p. 73). On the whole, the Mennonites were interested in isolation from the outside society. This was a motive for their emigration and lay at the base of their desire to have the privilege of maintaining their own schools. Dr. Francis ends the chapter on a complimentary note, giving some space to laudatory statements made in the Canadian press and by government officials about the Mennonites,

and citing one of their opponents, William Loucks, as saying: "They live where we cannot exist" (p. 79).

The Mennonite tradition of social control was seriously challenged by the environment into which they had come. "To the Mennonites . . . the idea of the moral autonomy of the individual immanent in democratic philosophy had little appeal. They were not preoccupied with the greatest possible freedom of the individual *from* social controls, but with the freedom of the group as a whole *for* the exercise of strict controls over each individual member" (pp. 81, 82). This difference led to a real challenge. Dr. Francis shows how the "pragmatic tendencies of British policy to wait and see" and the "*de facto* rather than *de jure* autonomy" were used by the Mennonites to put their own social system and institutional framework on a solid foundation (p. 83).

Despite this, there were serious "disruptions of the social fabric" of the Mennonite communities. These disruptions were a result of the inner cleavages within the Mennonite social system and of the challenge implied in the legal order of this new land. The inner cleavages led eventually to the separation of the Fürstenland group from the Bergtal people of the West Reserve, the latter becoming the "liberals" and the former remaining the "conservatives." The break made it possible for any "delinquents" from the Fürstenland group to find a haven in the Bergtal group and thus become socially adjusted. These inner disruptions were accompanied by a movement "from volost to municipality," which was a fundamental change that took place on the economic and local governmental level. In the East Reserve "the transformation from a *de facto* autonomy, after the pattern of the Russian volost, to a *de jure* local self-government . . . was effected with little difficulty" (p. 91). In the other colony it "became an explosive issue" (p. 93). The Bergtal group welcomed the change, but the Fürstenland people opposed it and the groups ended up each vying with the other in the appointment of a reeve.

Another factor that constituted a challenge to their tradition was the breakdown of the village commune. A semi-communal life, such as Russian and early Manitoba villages offered, slowly gave way under the pressure of new freedom and new opportunities. Most of these economic difficulties were under the control of the Mennonites. "The disadvantages usually mentioned by Mennonite sources as having led to the abolition of the open-field system appear rather as convenient rationalizations for a trend initiated much less by economic necessity than by sociological and psychological factors" (p. 102). With the giving up of the field community, local self-government declined, social controls weakened, and village habitat lost its attractiveness. In summary, the challenge to tradition brought about fundamental changes, but "the core of the common culture was preserved and continued to differ from that of the large society" (p. 109).

The Mennonites had come to Manitoba for religious reasons. "As it turned out they were more successful in advancing economically than in preserving their social institutions" (p. 110). Chapter V dealing with economic development from mere subsistence to commercial farming is of real value to those interested in the agricultural development of their communities. A provocative statement in regard to Mennonite ethics is made here that smacks somewhat of a "two-realm theory." Dr. Francis refers to "an area of action where the individual was free to pursue egocentered interests, and to play the game of those from whom the satisfaction of these values was to be derived" (p. 112). The decisive factor seems to be group coherence and solidarity even though these might have defi-

nite economic disadvantages. Thus "the cultivation of wheat for sale or the adoption of more efficient farm machinery . . . was considered permissible according to the maxim that individual material gain was desirable in competion with members of the out-group, and that the economic advancement of each in-group member in this competition was actually conducive to the welfare of the group as a whole" (p. 112).

A full-length discussion is given the institution of the *Waisenamt,* indeed an important part of Manitoba Mennonite life for many years. In this somewhat strange institution for the settlement of estates contracts were drawn up, but "the letter of a contract was always interpreted in the spirit of Christian justice and charity. . . . There is not one tale known among the Manitoba Mennonites of Shylocks and usurious moneylenders, although the folklore of other peasant societies usually abounds in such characters" (p. 133).

Chapter VI is devoted to the expansion of the Mennonite communities up to the time of World War I. The invasion of the reserves, the formation of daughter colonies, the rise of towns, and the growth of the colonies are all considered. The most striking thing in such a study is "the dogged effort of the ethnic group to occupy contiguous tracts of land, to prevent outsiders from settling in its midst, and to expand compact settlements along their fringes rather than permit its members the acquisition of new land elsewhere" (p. 137). The fact that they "put greater weight on social than on local stability" is shown by their threat to migrate to the United States en bloc, if they could not settle their land question (p. 146).

The stumbling block on the way to Utopia was the knotty school question. In Chapter VII Dr. Francis condenses his article which appeared in the Review (July, 1953), 27:204-37. Though this problem has been discussed by many, it is apparent that Dr. Francis spares no effort in presenting the facts. The Mennonites were decidedly at a disadvantage because of their own intragroup conflict, their sluggishness in providing adequately trained teachers and adequate schools, and by resorting to the typical response of the Mennonites, viz., withdrawal (p. 175). The government on the other hand lacked vision and foresight and demonstrated historical relativity in the attitude taken "when they finally adopted the current ideology of nationalism in their approach to the Mennonite group as an ethnic minority" (p. 178). Both sides must share the blame of the conflict and Professor Francis is well aware that the Mennonites were not shadowboxing. The school question is a vital one and both groups were quite aware of this. One cannot help wondering what would have happened had the Mennonites shown the love to each other that they confessedly have for the enemies, and if a man like H. H. Ewert had been more kindly received. From the side of the government the fuel that was poured on the fire was World War I.

From 1921 to 1930 approximately one third of the Mennonite group left Manitoba for Latin-American countries, and about 8,000 Mennonite refugees came from Russia to take their place. This vast regrouping is dealt with incisively and clearly. A description of the factors that caused the exodus to Latin America, as well as the factors that caused the immigration of yet another large group from Russia, does not put out of proportion the real interest in this chapter, to show the impact of these unique developments. The *Russländer* came as a breath of fresh air into the fossilized Mennonite communities. They came into nests that were well feathered, moving directly into prosperous farms vacated by those who left for the south. With them the Russländer brought a surplus of pride, and some disdain for their *Kanädier* brethren. This is characteris-

tic of immigrants to some extent. "While some submit to the painful and slow process of acculturation, many others never lose an attitude of superiority mixed with resentment at having lost their former—real or imaginary—social status. These live and pass away as strangers to both cultures, . . . truly marginal men, uprooted, lonely and out of tune with their environment" (p. 212).

There is a touch of deep pathos that does not leave us when we consider these marginal men, whose talents were literally wasted as they fought for causes already lost. Dr. Francis concludes that the two divisions (*Russländer* and *Kanädier*) must be considered as structural components of a comprehensive group (p. 217).

In the last chapter the continued social change is discussed as it was affected by the economic crisis of the thirties, the emergence of co-operatives, World War II, and the progress of science in general. Francis feels that Dawson's study (published 1936) failed to note properly that for the Mennonites the process of absorption was that of the whole Mennonite community rather than of individual Mennonites, Dawson apparently believing that acculturation is always a sign of assimilation. "In reality acculturation may frequently be but a device by which a minority adjusts itself to the large society as a group, so that both conflict and absorption are successfully avoided" (p. 217). The depression was the crisis which suggested a re-evaluation of the compromise the Manitoba Mennonites had made, and they sought a solution by reviving traditional behavior patterns. "The Mennonite *Waisenamt* banks are not alone in having confused the care of bank deposits and trusts with the care of souls, and in having failed to put a check on the manipulations of unscrupulous or inefficient functionaries for fear that this would hurt the cause of religion. In the era of capitalism, the combination of business and religion, once perfectly legitimate and successful, has proved dangerous for both business and religion, and in the long run unworkable" (p. 218). The new farm economy (diversified) and the co-operatives are evidence of this. Francis sees two factors as being "mainly responsible for the spread of co-operatives among the Manitoba Mennonites: (1) The breakdown of their traditional economic institutions had left a vacuum which was filled by the co-operatives. (2) Because the principles of the co-operative movement bear a certain resemblance to the solidaristic type of peasant economy, the co-operatives seemed to the Mennonites a revival of familiar forms of socio-economic organization" (pp. 228-29). The effect of World War II and the position which the Mennonites took toward it is also discussed.

In the Epilog the author traces conditions in the Mennonite settlements in Manitoba in greater detail, as observed by him during the years 1945-47 in the course of an extensive field survey. Six factors come up for discussion: (1) The community. "The continued coherence of the whole Mennonite group in Manitoba was demonstrated by their tendency to live together and . . . to preserve or restore the homogeneity of their communities" (p. 246). This is true even of the trend toward urbanization, for Dr. Francis notes that the trend toward urbanization was much less pronounced among the Mennonites than among Manitoba's population at large (p. 248). The center of Mennonite life is still the Reserves. (2) In his discussion of the church, the various groups of Mennonites are divided into three categories: (a) the old conservative churches, (b) the reform churches, (c) brotherhoods. It takes some dexterity to foot one's way through the maze of Mennonite groups in Manitoba, and in spite of the

fact that Dr. Francis does get his feet tangled a little, his main characterizations stand.

(3) Similarly the discussion of the place of the school shows a good knowledge of the broad outlines of need and effort in the area of education, although with faulty or incomplete information on details. Thus it is not correct that the General Conference Mennonite Church established a high school in Winnipeg soon after the Mennonite Brethren established theirs (p. 264). There is, as far as the reviewer knows, no such high school in Winnipeg under the auspices of the Canadian General Conference. Nor is it true that the Mennonite Brethren College "offers courses leading to the bachelor of divinity," or that the first president of the Canadian Mennonite Bible College in Winnipeg was Elder I. I. Friesen (p. 266). That honor belongs to A. J. Regier, now at Rosthern. (4) The brief discussion of charities is confined to hospitals and homes for the aged. (5) The importance of the press for the social life of the Mennonites is great since Mennonites are avid readers. Music too seems to be an important element of Mennonite social life. (6) The solidarity of the family remains intact except for one vital point: birth control. This is bound to weaken attachment to the ethnic group. As far as outmarriages are concerned they are still quite rare.

The author concludes "that, at least until shortly after the end of the second World War, acculturation among the Manitoba Mennonites (that is, the acceptance of culture traits from the large society) had by no means led to any significant degree of assimilation (whereby individual members of a minority are transferred into the host society with permanent loss to the ethnic group)" (p. 275). The three basic elements, religion, the church, and the family, are responsible for this. Beyond this, the Mennonites had their historical literature which provides them "with an effective social myth that transcends all particularistic subdivisions and conceives the whole group as an indivisible unit" (p. 277). The last element of ethnic unification is the West Prussian *Platt* language, "their true mother tongue and family language" (p. 277).

In sociological studies of this kind, the greatest danger is that one cannot see the woods for the trees. This danger Dr. Francis has masterfully avoided. He has done it to some extent by skillfully combining the historical and sociological approach. There is much in this book that is history, but history is never allowed to obscure the intent of the author. The book would be worth reading if only for the historical information that it contains. Furthermore the mass of research that lies behind this important work is distilled into material that is easy to read and easy to follow, even for the layman. The book lacks all the turgidity of style and highly technical language that so often characterizes a work of this nature.

Dr. Francis is qualified to analyze the Manitoba Mennonites sociologically and also is sympathetic to them; but he retains his objectivity as a social scientist. All of this adds up to a first-rate study by a competent scholar. This book deserves to be read by all who are interested in the sociological problems that Mennonites face today. The issues raised by this study go far beyond the confines of the Manitoba border. Mennonites outside Manitoba have also been eager to search for their utopias. The change from religious group to ethnic group is by no means restricted to Manitoba. But here it can be seen best, as in a test tube. Thus, Dr. Francis has laid some rather fundamental issues before us. As a sociologist he can help us a great deal in analyzing the progress, and also the lack of it, that has characterized our group.

The plaguing question is: Does he go beyond the diagnosis to sug-

gest a cure? Admitted that the Mennonites as an ethnic group have been a wholesome stabilizing influence in Manitoba's economic and cultural life—is this what it means to be the salt of the earth? Few who have rubbed shoulders with the early Anabaptist martyrs can rejoice with Dr. Francis that the Mennonites of Manitoba have invented devices such as co-operatives in an attempt to reorganize rural life in Western society, and that these "appear in their system as young shoots springing forth from the green roots of an aged trunk whose top has been capped by the storms of time," or that "Manitoba's Mennonites have found social and psychological security in their well-organized communities, and sufficient wealth to give them a sense of satisfaction and contentedness" (p. 278). From the viewpoint of the social scientist this is commendable. But the theologian and church historian must sigh if not weep. Surely this attitude of satisfaction and complacency in the midst of wealth is not to be greeted with joy by those of us who know that with it has come the fading of the realization that the Mennonites are children of God, called and elected to perform a role in history.

In the light of this, it was with disappointment that this reviewer noted no reference to missions in the book. At the least it should have been discussed in the Epilog. This makes one wonder in how far Dr. Francis has really felt the pulse of the church life in Manitoba. Even admitting that it could be more vital, it still remains true that the church schools cannot be understood apart from the call to missions. Nor can one ignore the fact that mission work has been done by the Manitoba churches, not only in the province itself, but through other Mennonite groups in the world. To this reviewer it would seem that this is the "young shoot springing forth from the green roots of the aged trunk." Notice might have been taken in this respect that the Mennonites were not hampered in home mission work in Manitoba as they were in Russia.

Some errors of fact have slipped into the book. John Holdeman came from Wayne County, Ohio, not Indiana (p. 104). On page 198 the statement is made that the Mennonite colonies in Russia were taxed "corporatively" for the forest service; the word should be "corporately." The number of printer's errors is small; to dwell on them would be only to carp.

Apart from the fact that Dr. Francis equivocates in ascribing an economic motive (p. 36) and a religious motive (p. 110 and 145) to the search for Utopia, he has attained a commendable degree of success in giving us an objective study of the Manitoba Mennonites. The publishers are to be commended for their courage and enterprise in publishing this book. It should be studied and read by all Mennonites who are interested in the problem of their historical development and their relevance to the world, and by those Manitoba Mennonites who can endure an objective look at themselves. It is to be lamented that the Manitoba conferences could not have sponsored the publication, so that the price might have been such as would not curtail its circulation.

The value of the book is enhanced by the impressive array of tables (twelve, in all) and charts (ten) and thirty-three pictures, ranging from important personalities to pioneer scenes. As far as Manitoba Mennonites are concerned it is no exaggeration to say that this is an epoch-making book. *Princeton, N.J.* WILLIAM KLASSEN

COMMENT BY CORNELIUS KRAHN

(The following notes are condensed from Cornelius Krahn's review of *In Search of Utopia,* which appeared in *Mennonite Life* (April, 1956), 11:95-96.)

This book deals primarily with the Mennonite who came from Russia to Manitoba in the 1870's settling on the East and West reserves, their socio-economic life, including such institutions as schools, mutual aid system, attitude toward the outside world, divisions, migrations, etc. E. K. Francis has indeed penetrated deeply into the cultural fabric of this group of people originally strange to him and has portrayed them as they have never been portrayed before and presented a book which will be a source of information for some time to come. The publishers are to be congratulated for making this very significant study available to the public. . . .

If any of the weaknesses of this book should be mentioned in a review as brief as this, it could be stated that the author, who is otherwise very painstaking in his research, does not seem to have become aware of the fact that the larger number of Mennonites of the West Reserve, which he calls *Fürstenländer,* came from the Chortitza or Old Colony settlement, which makes the name "Old Colony" Mennonites most appropriate and logical. (See "The Old Colony, 1870-1880," *Mennonite Weekly Review,* April 5, 1951, p. 10) From this it is apparent that of the 3,240 immigrants who came to the West Reserve directly from Russia during the first years about two thirds came from the Old Colony and only one third from Fürstenland. The use of the name *Fürstenländer* is particularly regrettable since the multiplicity of names is already confusing. . . . The descriptions of the shifts and changes within the groups, and the conflicts arising from their "Search of Utopia," are done very well, although a complete account of the ecclesiastical development and the resulting groups is not attempted. All this may be in the original study of the author of which this is only a part. The book can be highly recommended for use in our Mennonite homes and libraries.

Fünfzig Jahre Konferenzbestrebungen, 1902-1952. By J. G. Rempel. Steinbach, Manitoba: Konferenz der Mennoniten in Canada. 2 Vols. Pp. 204, 492.

This extraordinary book appears in two volumes. It recounts no world-shaking events nor does it present individuals who have made a name for themselves in the annals of the famous. To the student of Mennonite life and thought, however, it is of great interest, since it gives insight into the development of the Canadian churches and conferences during the span of half a century. July of 1902 is given as the birthday of the conference. Its first session, attended by about fifteen persons, was held at Hochstadt, Manitoba, in July, 1903; and the last conference reported on was the one held at Gretna in July, 1952, at which, according to the records, 4,600 meals were served to visitors. This suggests the growth in attendance.

The writer uses a somewhat original method in presenting his material. In reporting on the first conference he gives us eight lines of introduction and then follows with the biography and the picture of Rev. B. Ewert. A few lines of reporting follow, and then the biography and the photograph of Rev. Jakob Hoeppner are introduced. This method of intertwining of the reports with the human element is followed more or less closely throughout the book. The report for each session held concludes with a brief summary of main topics discussed and a brief evaluation of the conference as such. In paging through the book one becomes aware of the fact that the problems faced have varied much less than one would expect; true, the scope has widened, but basically it has remained

the same problem; namely, how can we as a Christian church fulfill the mission given to us? The search for an answer to this question leads to education, ministerial training, foreign and home missions, works of charity, publication, etc.

The book contains about 168 pictures, most of them photographs of persons who in various capacities have served or are serving our constituency; others are pictures of churches and institutions. The biographies accompanying the photographs of individuals are interesting and revealing. At the back of the book appears a list of conferences held, the names of chairmen and secretaries, a list of special events and decisions, and a reliable index of individuals, places, and activities treated in the book.

J. G. Rempel has been the recording secretary of the conference for 18 years. This rich experience has given him an ideal background for writing the history of the conference. For those interested in the Canadian conference, *Fünfzig Jahre Konferenzbestrebungen, 1902-1952* will prove a rich fountain of information.

Canadian Mennonite Bible College G. LOHRENZ

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